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ABSTRACT

Since the 1970s, Outward Bound (OB) has borrowed psychological language and models to articulate its educational objectives and methods in terms accessible to mainstream educators. This report claims that OB's uncritical adoption of psychological language and models will undermine its commitment to certain core values of its tradition. This is supported by analyses of three attempts to explain some aspect of OB's educational objectives and methods. In each case, it is shown how the adoption of psychological language and models is accompanied by the de-emphasis or omission of a traditional value and the traditional value is de-emphasized or omitted because it is incompatible with the views of the world and human nature reflected in the language and models. Assuming that the language and models used to describe objectives and methods influence educational practice, the de-emphasis or omission of traditional values in descriptions of OB will undermine commitment to them at the level of practice. Recommendations of how OB might strengthen its commitment to its traditional values are presented, and it is suggested that OB make explicit the views which are implicit in its tradition and then develop their implications for conceiving, designing, instructing, staffing, administering and evaluating its courses. (Author/JMM)

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OUTWARD BOUND:

IN SEARCH OF FOUNDATIONS

by

Daniel Vokey

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IN SEARCH OF FOUNDATIONS

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Daniel Vokey

Queen's University

Kingston, Ontario, Canada

May, 1987

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and when the flood arose, the stream beat vehemently upon

that house, but could not shake it, for

it was founded upon a rock.

Luke 6:48

Abstract

Since the 1970's, Outward Bound has borrowed psychological language and models in order to articulate its educational objectives and methods in terms accessible to mainstream educators. The thesis claims that Outward Bound's uncritical adoption of psychological language and models will undermine its commitment to certain core values of its tradition. The claim is supported by analyses of three attempts to explain some aspect of Outward Bound's educational objectives and methods. In each case, it is shown how the adoption of psychological language and models is accompanied by the de-emphasis or omission of a traditional value, and the traditional value is de-emphasized or omitted because it is incompatible with the views of the world and human nature reflected in the language and models. On the assumption that the language and models used to describe objectives and methods influence educational practice, the de-emphasis or omission of traditional values in descriptions of Outward Bound will undermine commitment to them at the level of practice.

The thesis concludes with recommendations concerning how Outward Bound might strengthen its commitment to its traditional values. It is suggested that Outward Bound make explicit the views on human nature and the world which are implicit in its tradition, and then develop the implications of those views for how it conceives, designs, instructs, staffs, administers, and evaluates its courses.

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Introduction

General Statement of the Problem

In Outward Bound's recent attempts to tell its story to the world, certain parts of the story are being left out. What is being left out is crucial (I believe) to understanding what makes Outward Bound a unique and valuable educational tradition. Consequently, unless the full story is told, Outward Bound's contribution to mainstream education will fall short of its full potential. Even more unfortunately, Outward Bound itself might forget these crucial parts of its story, and inadvertently perpetuate an impoverished version of its tradition.

Outward Bound's efforts to tell its story are intended, in part, to promote the application of its principles and practices in mainstream education. In order to have such influence, Outward Bound must explain its educational objectives and methods in terms familiar to mainstream educators (James, 1980a, pp. 80, 115-116). Accordingly, some of the attempts to explain Outward Bound objectives and methods have adopted the language and models of popular psychological theories. Some of the psychological languages and models chosen reflect mechanistic views of human nature and the world. This represents a problem because *the educational priorities implied by mechanistic assumptions are incompatible with Outward Bound traditional values*.

Outward Bound's educational mission is to promote an appreciation, both in individuals and in institutions, of the core values of its tradition (Canadian Outward Bound Wilderness School (COBWS) Instructor Handbook, 1984, pp. 3-4; Summers, 1957, p. 58; James, 1980a, pp. 47-48; Miner & Boldt, 1981, p. 151). On the assumption that the language and models chosen to articulate objectives and methods influence educational practice, it follows that *the uncritical adoption of language and models which reflect mechanistic assumptions will compromise Outward Bound's educational mission*. First, because its traditional values will be difficult or impossible to express in such language and models, and they will therefore tend to be de-emphasized or omitted when Outward Bound describes its objectives and methods in those terms. To the extent traditional values are omitted or de-emphasized in Outward Bound's descriptions of its educational mission, those values will eventually be correspondingly de-emphasized or omitted in practice. Second, if Outward Bound's objectives and methods are conceptualized in language and models with mechanistic assumptions, then its practice will eventually incorporate the educational priorities consistent with those assumptions. However, the educational priorities implied by mechanistic assumptions are incompatible with Outward Bound's educational mission, because they are incompatible with its traditional values.

Intent of the Thesis

The intent of this thesis is (a) to illustrate how Outward Bound is inadvertently undermining its commitment to certain core values of its tradition by adopting language and models uncritically, and (b) to make recommendations concerning how Outward Bound might strengthen its commitment to these traditional values--and thereby enhance its educational mission--by telling its story in its own terms. Developing language and models compatible with Outward Bound traditional values would involve first making explicit the views on human nature and the world which are implicit in the Outward Bound tradition, and which provide a coherent context for its educational priorities; and then developing the implications of those views for how Outward Bound conceives, designs, instructs, staffs, administers, and evaluates its courses.

General Statement of the Argument

The general argument of this thesis rests on four assumptions: (a) different basic views on human nature and the world imply different educational priorities; (b) different conceptual frameworks presuppose different basic views on human nature and the world; (c) the language and models of a conceptual framework reflect its basic views; and (d) the language and models used to articulate educational objectives and methods influence educational practice. Granted these assumptions, it follows that *educational practice will be shaped by the priorities implicit in the assumptions of the language and models chosen to conceptualize educational objectives and methods.*

Rationale

As the first and largest of the adventure-based experiential education programs, one with an identifiable and successful tradition, Outward Bound functions as an exemplar (Emerson & Golins, 1978, p. 19; James, 1980a, p. 60; Kalisch, 1979, p. 12). The number of Outward Bound and Outward Bound adaptive programs has increased dramatically since its introduction to North America in 1962 (Miner & Boldt, pp. 341-342; Walsh & Golins, 1976, p. 1). Outward Bound's growing educational influence in North America suggests that the consequences of its uncritical adoption of psychological language and models are worthy of investigation. For if Outward Bound practice is not to be inconsistent with its stated objectives, then any departure from its traditional values should be the outcome of deliberate choice, not the unintended consequence of attempts to explain its objectives and methods.

The significance of this thesis is not limited to the Outward Bound context. For Outward Bound is not the only educational enterprise to adopt psychological language and models in attempts to articulate its objectives and methods. This thesis may therefore be understood as an illustration, in a specific context, of how indiscriminate use of language and models from diverse conceptual frameworks may result in incoherent conceptualizations and inconsistent practice. Furthermore, the suggestions concerning how Outward Bound might strengthen its commitment to its traditional values are relevant to any educational enterprise having to decide among competing claims on its finite resources.

Structure of the Thesis

Chapter One of the thesis provides an account of the origins of the Outward Bound tradition, in order to identify its core values and its purposes in adopting psychological language and models. Chapter Two clarifies what is meant by "mechanistic views of the world and human nature" and shows in general terms how mechanistic assumptions are incompatible with Outward Bound traditional values.

Chapters Three, Four, and Five analyze the assumptions underlying behaviouristic, developmental, and humanistic psychological language and models adopted in recent attempts to conceptualize Outward Bound objectives and methods. The focus in the analyses is on how mechanistic assumptions on human nature and the world imply educational priorities that are inconsistent with Outward Bound traditional values, and how Outward Bound values are impossible or difficult to express in those languages and models. More specifically: Chapter Three illustrates how the view of individuals as passive and predetermined in behaviouristic language undermines Outward Bound's commitment to developing self-reliance; Chapter Four how the focus on reasoning in Kohlberg's model of moral development undermines Outward Bound's commitment to providing value-forming experiences; and Chapter Five how the individualistic focus in certain humanistic psychological models of self-concept undermines Outward Bound's commitment to promoting compassion through service.

Chapter Six offers suggestions concerning how Outward Bound might strengthen its commitment to its core values by making explicit the views on human nature and the world which are implicit in its tradition, and by developing their implications for practice. The suggestions incorporate arguments concerning how Outward Bound might validate and develop its traditional values. The intent in taking positions on the issues is not to make definitive pronouncements, but to initiate further exploration of the arguments and their educational implications.

Chapter One

Outward Bound Traditional Values

Origins of the Outward Bound Tradition

Definition of terms. In this thesis, "Outward Bound" refers to a historical tradition, a number of related but autonomous educational institutions, the objectives and methods of the programs offered by those institutions, and the people who offer the programs--for Outward Bound is all of these. More specifically: "Outward Bound objectives and methods" refers to the principles and practices of the Outward Bound tradition, as currently embodied in the programs of North American Outward Bound Schools.[1] The Outward Bound tradition in North America draws inspiration and ideas from many sources, but springs chiefly from the educational vision of Kurt Hahn. Accordingly, "the Outward Bound tradition" is defined as the history of the actions and reflections of those dedicated to furthering Hahn's educational ideals, as told and retold within the Outward Bound community, and as embodied in its current principles and practices.[2] The "Outward Bound community" refers to all those presently working within and contributing to the Outward Bound tradition, through an association with an Outward Bound School.

As these definitions suggest, an appreciation of the core values of Outward Bound tradition requires a familiarity with Hahn's educational ideals, and their adaptation to the North American context.

Kurt Hahn and the origins of Outward Bound. Kurt Hahn was born a German of Jewish parents in 1886, and was educated at the universities of Berlin, Freiberg, Gottingen, and Christchurch, Oxford.[3] From 1920-33, Hahn served as Headmaster of Salem School, an innovative, co-educational public boarding school in Germany. The Salem School was dedicated to preserving the *grandes passions* of youth through the turbulent years of adolescence.[4] For Hahn, the means to do so were to ignite and to sustain the healthy impulses of youth, by providing a supportive environment and appropriate value-forming experiences:

> You can preserve a child's strength, the undefeatable spirit, the joy of movement, the power of compassion, the eager curiosity--all those treasures of childhood, on one condition: that you kindle on the threshold of puberty and subsequently sustain the so-called non-poisonous passions--the zest for building, the craving for adventure, the joy of exploration, the love of music, painting, or writing, the devotion to a skill demanding patience and care. (Hahn, 1957, p. 2; see also McLachlan, 1970, p. 8)

In 1932, Hahn publicly criticized the Nazis and challenged those associated with Salem School to break with Hitler (Miner & Boldt, pp. 29-31; Rohrs & Tunstall-Behrens, pp. xiii-xiv). As a result, he was imprisoned, and subsequently exiled to Britain in 1933. However, these experiences convinced Hahn more than ever that youth in modern society needed activities designed to ignite and sustain their inner strengths. In 1934, he founded Gordonstoun School on the coast of Scotland along similar lines to Salem, and served as Headmaster until 1953. With the outbreak of W.W. II, and the consequent possibility of an invasion, Gordonstoun School was moved to Aberdovy, Wales, where it stayed until returning to Scotland at the end of the war. It was in Aberdovy that the first Outward Bound course was offered in 1941.

The activities, duration, and objectives of the first Outward Bound courses reflected the experiences and educational priorities of two men: Kurt Hahn and Lawrence Holt. For Hahn, Outward Bound was the culmination of a series of experimental programs, including the Moray Badge

Scheme and intensive two-week training sessions at Gordonstoun summer school (Hahn, p. 3-6). The intent of these programs was to make more widely available the activities proven successful at the Salem and Gordonstoun Schools (Hahn, p. 2). By 1940, however, Hahn's vision of the educator's task had expanded beyond that of preserving healthy impulses through the stormy years of adolescence. Hahn was profoundly troubled by what he perceived as the "tempting declines" of a "diseased civilization":

> There is the decline of fitness, due to modern methods of locomotion; the decline of initiative, due to the widespread disease of spectatoritis; the decline in care and skill, due to the weakened tradition of craftsmanship; the decline in self-discipline, due to the ever-present availability of tranquilizers and stimulants; the decline of compassion, which William Temple called "spiritual death". (NCOBS, 1981, p. 61; cf. McLachlan, 1970, p. 77; and Hahn, p. 10)

Based on his experience with the experimental programs, and as Headmaster of the Salem and Gordonstoun Schools, Hahn was convinced that the declines of modern society could be counteracted by intensive, four-week "training holidays" which combined creative projects, athletic training, demanding expeditions, and community service.[5]

To make such experiences available to all youth--not just those whose parents could afford the tuition of boarding schools--Hahn needed both financial and public support. He found both with the help of Lawrence Holt, senior member of the Blue Funnel Line of the Merchant Service. By 1941, Holt was deeply concerned about the low survival rate of young Merchant Seamen whose ships were torpedoed on the Atlantic. They seemed to lack the physical and emotional stamina necessary to endure the hardship and stress of a lifeboat rescue. Holt became convinced of the necessity of survival training that would not only improve the fitness and boat-handling skills of the youth in his employ, but also develop their fortitude to combat the "enemies within--fear, defeatism, apathy, selfishness"" (Price, 1970, p. 81-82).

With Holt's support, the first Outward Bound courses were launched to meet his wish to provide comprehensive survival preparation, and to allow Hahn a chance to publicly demonstrate the effectiveness of his training schemes.[6] The courses were a mixture of "small boat training, athletic endeavor to reach standards of competence, cross-country route finding by map and compass, rescue training, an expedition at sea, a land expedition across three mountain ranges, and service to the local people" (Miner & Boldt, p. 33). Besides financial and material resources for the venture, Holt contributed its name: The Outward Bound Sea School.[7] Holt also contributed the important idea of training not *for* the sea, but *through* the sea. In other words, although course activities and skills were also valued in themselves, their primary purpose was to develop fitness, self-reliance,[8] patience, care, and compassion (Hahn, p. 10).

Hahn's educational vision. Outward Bound was only one of many innovative endeavors initiated by Hahn to fulfill his educational goals. Besides the Schools and programs mentioned, Hahn was responsible for founding the Duke of Edinburgh's Award, the United World College in Wales, and the Trevelyn Scholarships (Suchman, 1985a, p. 1). Those looking back on Hahn's achievements believe that his view of the educator's responsibilities was shaped by his experience as a German Jew during Fascism's rise to power, particularly his dismay at the lack of resistance offered to Hitler's brutality.[9] For in all his educational endeavors, Hahn's foremost objective was "to train citizens who would not shirk from leadership and who could, if called upon, make independent decisions, put right action before expediency, and the common cause before personal ambition" (James, 1985, p. 41; see also Suchman, 1985a).

Outward Bound in North America

Outward Bound institutions. There are presently six Outward Bound Schools offering courses in the United States, and two in Canada. Outward Bound was brought to North America principally through the efforts of Josh Miner, who had taught with Hahn at Gordonstoun. The first American School was opened in Colorado in 1962, followed by Schools in Minnesota in 1964, Maine and Oregon in 1965, North Carolina in 1967, and Texas in 1967.[10] The Canadian Outward Bound Mountain School opened in 1969 in Keremeos, British Columbia; followed by the Canadian Outward Bound Wilderness School, which took up residence on the shores of Black Sturgeon Lake north of Thunder Bay, Ontario, in 1975.[11] Each of the Schools operates as a private, non-profit educational institution, governed by an independent Board of Trustees. Consistency in program and safety standards is achieved by close co-operation between the Schools, co-ordinated by their national organizations: Outward Bound Canada and Outward Bound USA.

Outward Bound programs. The original and paradigmatic Outward Bound program is the Standard Course. In its present form, the Standard Course consists of approximately 10 adults, ages 17+, sharing 24-26 days of intense activities, centered around preparing for and undertaking some challenging enterprise in unknown territory--typically a wilderness expedition. Throughout the course, direction and support are provided principally by one or two instructors, who are responsible for the safety of the group. The instructors' other main role is to facilitate each individual's learning from the many and diverse experiences arising from the course (COBS, 1984, p. 12).[12]

Outward Bound also offers courses tailored to the special needs of young offenders, alcoholics, veterans, business executives, educators, the physically disabled, and other specific populations. These programs differ from the Standard Course format in such variables as length, amount of training provided, and level of instructor supervision. However, all Outward Bound courses are designed to promote learning through the intense experiences which arise when a small group meets successive challenges in an isolated and unfamiliar environment.[13]

Outward Bound adaptive programs. Strictly speaking, Outward Bound programs are only those offered by Schools which receive a charter (via their national headquarters) from the Outward Bound Trust established in Britain in 1949. However, since its introduction to North America in 1962, Outward Bound has inspired a large and growing number of programs to adapt Outward Bound principles and practices to their own context (James, 1980a, pp. 41-42, 70; Miner & Boldt, pp. 341-342).[14] The paradigmatic role of Outward Bound magnifies the consequences of any radical departure from its traditional values in attempts to conceptualize its objectives and methods.

Outward Bound's Educational Mission

The official Mission Statement. As noted, Outward Bound's mission is to promote an appreciation, in both individuals and institutions, of the core values of its tradition. Accordingly, a summary of the current official understanding of Outward Bound's mission will contribute towards an appreciation of its traditional values.

An official Mission Statement was adopted by Outward Bound USA (then known as Outward Bound, Inc.) in October, 1980. As the national headquarters of the U.S. Outward Bound Schools, Outward Bound USA (OB USA) is responsible for setting national policy. The first line of the Mission Statement reads:

> Outward Bound's purpose is to develop respect for self, care for others, responsibility to the community, and sensitivity to the environment.

This first line of the mission statement was adopted almost verbatim by the representatives of the International Outward Bound movement in a resolution passed at the International Outward Bound Conference, Malaysia, 1986, as a statement of purpose (Yolles, 1986). It is also cited verbatim in the Canadian Outward Bound Wilderness School Instructor Handbook (COBWS, 1984, p. 6). At the level of official policy, then, there is consensus that Outward Bound's educational mission incorporates personal, interpersonal, social, and ecological concerns.

The mission statement subsequently summarizes four ways Outward Bound presently strives to fulfill its objectives:

> Outward Bound implements its educational and social purposes by providing leadership in experience-based programs, offering courses in its schools, conducting demonstration projects, and helping others to apply Outward Bound principles.

The mission statement ends by establishing three priorities for Outward Bound's future work:

> Outward Bound seeks to: strengthen its organizational effectiveness; improve the quality of its program; and expand the influence and application of its principles. (Miner and Boldt, p. 348)

The Mainstream Policy. The policy mentioned above of expanding the influence and application of Outward Bound principles and practices was first formally adopted in 1966. The trustees of OB USA realized that Outward Bound schools could only offer educational experiences directly to a small percentage of American youth. They concluded that if Outward Bound was to achieve its full potential, it could do so only by making its way "into the mainstream of American thought and American education" (Miner and Boldt, p. 149). Accordingly, Josh Miner drew up a Mainstream Policy proposal aimed at four broad groups of institutions and organizations: (a) educational institutions, (b) government agencies, (c) social welfare agencies, and (d) business or industrial corporations (James, 1980a, p. 39). In retrospect, Miner sees the adoption of the Mainstream Policy by OB USA as "a watershed occasion" in the formulation of Outward Bound's mission:

> It was the time the organization first made the commitment to what, some years later, it would come to call "Outreach", the policy of venturing beyond itself to proselyte institutions capable of multiplying its influence. (Miner and Boldt, p. 151)

Concerning the implementation of the Mainstream Policy between 1966 and 1981, Miner makes two notable observations: One, Outward Bound *has* entered into the mainstream of American thought and education, "virtually to its own amazement". Two, this has occurred despite the fact that Outward Bound never formulated a clear and cogent Outreach policy, and did not evaluate--or even anticipate--the problems inherent in such an endeavor (Miner and Boldt, p. 152; cf. James, 1980a, pp. 40, 51). It is worthy of note that entering the educational mainstream remains a high priority of Outward Bound in North America, although official policy on how to do so is still in the formative stages (Raynolds, 1986).

The Core Values of Outward Bound Tradition

In this thesis, "values" refers to the contents of judgments or beliefs that something is important and worthwhile, and to corresponding priorities in decision and action.[15] What values take precedence in an Outward Bound course varies to a certain extent from School to School, and from year to year. This reflects the varied social and geographical contexts of the different Schools, and the varied personalities of their Directors and staff (James, 1980a, pp. 27, 77-78; Price, 1970, p. 90; Rohrs, 1970, p. 128). This is not inappropriate, for adaptability and tolerance of diversity are signs of a healthy

tradition. Outward Bound must adapt to the exigences of particular times and places, in order to meet the changing needs of the people it serves. And adaptation in a tradition requires openness to a variety of new, even conflicting, perspectives.[16]

There is also a common core to the values of Outward Bound Schools. This reflects their common origin: the educational principles and practices of Kurt Hahn. This also is a sign of a healthy tradition. For if Outward Bound had no core of fundamental values, it would have no basis from which to assess the needs of particular populations. In adapting to the exigences of different times and places, then, Outward Bound must maintain some continuity through change if it is to retain its identity and purpose.[17] In this context, the core values of Outward Bound tradition may be heuristically defined as those beliefs about what is worthwhile, and the corresponding educational priorities, that constitute the heart of Outward Bound's mission. It is its core values which make Outward Bound what it is, and which must be retained if Outward Bound is to continue to play a leadership role in education, and not become one of many wilderness recreation programs simply taking direction from the marketplace (James, 1978; Kraft, 1985a; Raffan, 1981; Suchman, 1985b).[18]

To a large extent, the values of Outward Bound tradition are embedded in the principles, practices, and stories passed on from School to School, instructor to instructor. As such, they have never been completely or precisely articulated (James, 1978, p. 6). However, some sense of the core values of Outward Bound tradition is revealed in that, of all the statements on education made by Kurt Hahn, the following is the one invariably quoted in discussions of Outward Bound's mission:

> I regard it as the foremost task of education to insure the survival of these qualities: an enterprising curiosity, an undefeatable spirit, tenacity in pursuit, readiness for sensible self-denial, and, above all, compassion. (Hahn, 1965, Address at Harrogate, quoted in COBS, 1984, p. 4; James, 1980a, p. i; and Suchman, 1985c)

Similarly, reference is often made to the "Four Pillars" of Outward Bound tradition: physical training, self-discipline, craftsmanship, and service (e.g., James, 1980a, p. 11; NCOBS, 1981, pp. 20-38; Suchman, 1985a, p. 6). Finally, in its statements of purpose at least, compassion remains Outward Bound's highest value, and promoting compassion through service its highest ideal (COBWS, 1987, p. 2; Miner & Boldt, pp. 235, 282, 361).

Outward Bound has expanded and developed its educational objectives and methods during its on-going adaptation to the North American situation. Innovations include (a) encouraging sensitivity to environmental concerns (James, 1980a, p. 29), (b) adopting the three-day solo as standard practice (Miner & Boldt, pp. 101-103), and (c) offering entirely mobile--i.e., non-residential courses (James, 1980a, pp. 74-75).

In the light of the above, it seems reasonable to affirm that the heart of Outward Bound's educational mission is to promote appreciation of physical fitness, the care and creativity characteristic of craftsmanship, self-reliance, compassion, and sensitivity to environmental concerns (James, 1980a, p. 37; cf. 126). Outward Bound core values include not only these objectives, but also its methods for attaining them. For the essence of Outward Bound's approach to promoting appreciation of its traditional values is to provide opportunities for participants to experience, directly and concretely, the consequences of their decisions and actions (James, 1980a, pp. 38, 88). In Hahn's oft-quoted words:

> It is wrong to coerce people into opinions, but it is our duty to impel them into experience.[19]

Outward Bound seeks to fulfill its mission both directly, through offering courses at its Schools; and indirectly, through actively facilitating the adaptation of Outward Bound principles and practices

to other contexts. Thus the Outward Bound mission encompasses a policy of seeking recognition from, and influence upon, mainstream education.

The Rationale for Conceptualization of Outward Bound

In the late 1960's there was a sudden increase in Outward Bound's popularity, resulting in a rapid expansion of School programs and their adaptation to other contexts (James, 1980a, pp. 113-119). This marked the beginning of on-going efforts within the Outward Bound community to make explicit the educational objectives and methods implicit in its traditional principles and practices. These efforts are prompted by at least five tasks created by Outward Bound's rapid growth. The first task is to resolve questions concerning course design, implementation, and evaluation which cannot be addressed simply by referring to traditional principles and practices. For example, there is an on-going debate within the Outward Bound community on whether, or to what extent, the experiences arising from course activities must be reflected upon in some way, in order to effect learning transferable to other contexts (see James, 1980b).

The second task is to prevent and correct distortions in public perception of what Outward Bound is and does, resulting from sensationalist media coverage (James, 1980a, pp. 31-32; Suchman, 1985c). For example, Outward Bound is concerned to dispel preconceptions that it is a wilderness survival school, or a training camp for elite athletes (COBWS, 1987, p. 15). The third task is created by the increase in Outward Bound programs, with its corresponding demand for larger numbers of instructors. No longer is it possible to train new instructors simply through long apprenticeships with experienced staff. This factor, combined with a greater perceived need for instructor accountability and course standardization, has resulted in efforts to formalize traditional instructional procedures (James, 1980a, p. 115).

The fourth task is to demonstrate to funding agencies that Outward Bound "works" (James, 1980a, pp. 38, 113). To the skeptic, personal testimonies are too subjective to be reliable indicators of significant gains through participation on a course. The need to compete for funding thus creates a need to specify course objectives and to establish standardized evaluation procedures.

The fifth task is to articulate and explain Outward Bound objectives and methods in terms familiar to mainstream educators, in order to facilitate the adaptation of Outward Bound to other contexts, and to prevent unsound imitations (Walsh and Golins, 1976, p. 1). It is these attempts to implement Outward Bound's policy of proselytizing mainstream education which have tended to adopt psychological language and models. For Outward Bound realizes that, in order to gain recognition from mainstream education, it must learn to speak its theoretical language (James, 1980a, pp. 47, 54, 80, 98-99, 113-114).[20] Ironically, however, well-intentioned but uncritical use of mainstream concepts may compromise Outward Bound's educational mission, by undermining its commitment to certain core values of its tradition. To substantiate this last statement is the task of the following four chapters.

Notes

[1] Methodological note: many of the general principles of Outward Bound's programs have not been explicitly set forth or systematically developed. Rather, they have been implicit in the practices passed on from School to School, instructor to instructor. This lack of a systematic exposition of its principles has engendered attempts to "conceptualize" Outward Bound, i.e., attempts to articulate and explain its objectives and methods in terms representing the variables and relationships of a conceptual model or theory. There have been numerous attempts to conceptualize Outward Bound objectives and methods (e.g., Harmon & Templin, 1980), and it cannot be assumed that they have had or will have

equal influence upon practice. With this in mind, the documents selected for analysis in this thesis are those authored by established members of the Outward Bound community.

[2] Since its earliest days, the Outward Bound tradition has incorporated principles and practices other than Kurt Hahn's, but these have been understood to be consistent with his educational vision. See James, 1980a, p. 44; Miner & Boldt, 1981, p. 34. For a discussion of the concept "tradition" consistent with its use in the thesis, see McIntyre, 1984, esp. pp. 221; also Slater, 1978.

[3] This and subsequent biographical information on Hahn is taken primarily from Rohrs & Tunstall-Behrens, 1970, pp. xix-xxii.

[4] For an account of Hahn's principles and practices at Salem, see Ewald, 1970.

[5] Hahn, p. 9; see also Hogan, 1970, p. 64. The Outward Bound course is prefigured in a letter from Hahn to former students while he was still with the Salem School. See Ewald, pp. 37-38.

[6] For a detailed account of how the first Outward Bound School came about, and its program, as told by its first Warden (Director), see Hogan, 1970. For accounts of developments in subsequent courses in Britian, see Summers, 1970; and Price, 1970.

[7] The name Outward Bound was retained even when mountain-based Schools were opened, for the image of leaving the harbour for the adventure and peril of the open sea captures the Schools's positive view of risk and challenge. See *Outward Bound*, 1985, p. 90.

[8] The term "self-reliance" is used to encompass a number of closely related personal strengths, including self-discipline, self-knowledge through self-discovery, self-respect, and self-confidence. In Outward Bound tradition, all are seen as necessary components of "sensible self-denial"--action in service to a higher cause. See James, 1985, p. 41; Suchman, 1985a, p. 4.

[9] See James, 1980a, p. 126; also Kalisch, 1979, p. 9; Rohrs, 1970, pp. 133-134; and the Preface to Rohrs & Tunstall-Behrens (1970) by Prince Phillip.

[10] For histories of Outward Bound's development in the United States, see James, 1980a; and Miner & Boldt, 1981.

[11] For a brief account of Outward Bound Schools in Canada, see Wilson, 1981, pp. 71-82.

[12] For a thorough treatment of the role of the instructor in Outward Bound, see Kalisch, 1979.

[13] For a course outline which summarizes the basic elements of Outward Bound programs, see COBS, 1984, pp. 10-11.

[14] See Kesselheim (1978) for a discussion of Outward Bound adaptive programs in U.S. private schools. Ontario's **Project Dare** exemplifies the use of Outward Bound methods as an alternative to incarceration for delinquent youth--one of the most common and effective adaptations of Outward Bound programs for a specific population. See Burton, 1981, p. 10; James, 1980a, pp. 52-72.

[15] For an analysis of the notion of "value" that is consistent with the use of the term in this thesis, see Lonergan, 1971, pp. 34-52.

[16] For substantiation of this point in the corporate context, see Peters & Waterman, 1980, esp. pp. 281-282; see also Gardiner, 1964, pp. 5-7; Slater, 1978, pp. 79-95; and Weick, 1979, pp. 7, 135-136. It is worthy of note in this context that Kurt Hahn deliberately hired people with opposing perspectives (Miner & Boldt, p. 54; see also James, 1980a, p. 110-112).

[17] For discussions of the need for continuity through change in traditions and institutions, see Gardiner, especially pp. 115-118; and Weick, pp. 215-217. The question of how provide for continuity through change--how to critically appropriate a tradition without stepping outside it--will be taken up in Chapter Six.

[18] This notion of the core values of a tradition is based upon Slater's (1979, pp. 29-30) distinction between the primary and secondary symbols of the patterns of faith of religious traditions.

[19] Hahn, quoted in Fuller, 1957, p. 68. For accounts of the origin and uses of the phrase "value-forming experiences" see James, 1980a, pp. 37-38; Miner & Boldt, p. 54n). For a story which describes a value-forming experience, see James, 1980a, pp. 124-125.

[20] In the search for theory to explain Outward Bound practice and results, elements have been borrowed from virtually every available psychological theory, without questioning whether their various assumptions are compatible with Outward Bound priorities, or even with each other, e.g., Richards,

1977; cf. Kraft, 1985b, pp. 15-30. The danger of such indiscriminate eclecticism is conceptual incoherence and confused practice. See Harré, 1981; and Pepper, pp. 104-113.

Chapter Two

Mechanistic Assumptions and Outward Bound Values

As noted, the thesis argues that Outward Bound is undermining its commitment to certain core values of its tradition by uncritically adopting psychological language and models with mechanistic assumptions. The intent of this chapter is to support that argument by (a) introducing the notion of a world view, (b) clarifying what is meant by "mechanistic views of the world and human nature", and (c) showing in general terms how mechanistic assumptions--and the related positivistic view of science--are incompatible with Outward Bound traditional values. The subsequent three chapters will illustrate how specific psychological languages and models are incompatible with certain core values of Outward Bound tradition.

World Views

By "a world view", is meant a set of beliefs and assumptions about the world and what it means (or might mean) to be human. A world view is closely tied to a certain attitude towards the world, a set of values and corresponding priorities for living, and a particular view of the proper source(s) of knowledge.

For example: one can imagine a view wherein the world is seen to have been created by a Supreme Being for a Divine Purpose. Our place in such a world might be to co-operate in the realization of that Purpose, perhaps with the promise of eternal happiness for doing so. An associated attitude to life might be that what happens in "this", world is only important insofar as it relates to the "next" world. Values in this context might be established with reference to Divine Purpose: what is most worthwhile is what contributes to its realization. The corresponding priorities for living would be to find out what the Divine Purpose is, and to help fulfill it. The most important source of knowledge would then be the disclosure of Divine Purpose through the Supreme Being's revelations and/or creations.

One can speak of world views held by individuals or by cultures.[1] World views range in sophistication from simple, unarticulated beliefs to comprehensive philosophies. The relationships between the world views of individuals and that of their culture; between successive or competing world views held by individuals or by cultures; between a world view and individual or collective behaviour; and even between distinct beliefs within a world view, are all exceedingly complex. For our purposes here, however, it will suffice simply to affirm that *how an individual or culture views the world is closely interrelated with their attitude towards it, their beliefs concerning what is worthwhile and corresponding priorities for living, and their efforts to come to know it.*

Mechanistic World View

By "a mechanistic world view", is meant any view wherein the world, like a machine, is seen to consist of different parts defined by their functional relationships--how they fit or work together.[2] A classic example of a mechanistic world view is the Newtonian notion that the world can be understood as the interaction of discrete particles in time and space according to universal and invariant laws. This world view is deterministic, reductionistic, and atomistic. It is deterministic in that

> The original configuration of the particles in the universe was accidental and now is accidental, in the sense that it could have been otherwise. But, and this the important point, once the configuration is set, given the laws that govern particle interaction, events inexorably follow. (Kilbourn, 1980, p. 38; see also Pepper, 1942, pp. 196-197, 207-208)

This view of the world is reductionistic, in that everything--including human thought and action--can be reduced to, i.e., explained in terms of, the predetermined interaction of particles. It is atomistic, in that everything can be broken down into simple, discrete components.

Two characteristics of a world so conceived are worthy of note. One, it is accidental and contingent, and therefore without inherent meaning or purpose (Pepper, p. 197). Accordingly, the world is wholly indifferent, if not actually hostile, to human interests and desires (Kilbourn, pp. 38-39; see, e.g., Monod, 1971, pp. 172-173, 180). Two, the world is reducible to quantitative relationships. Quality has no ultimate, "objective" meaning or existence, it belongs to the realm of merely "subjective" experience (Berlin, 1956, pp. 17-21; see also Roszak, 1972, p. 179; cf. Pepper, 193-195).

The primary source of knowledge of a mechanistic world is science, understood as the detached, disinterested investigation of the regularities of experience, through observation and experimentation. The goal of scientific inquiry is to explain how all the different parts of the world fit or work together, where the ability to explain is equivalent to the ability to predict and control.[3]

A mechanistic view is often accompanied by an instrumental attitude towards the world. For given that it has no inherent meaning or purpose, it makes sense to assume that the world, like a machine, exists to be used. The priorities for living associated with a mechanistic world view are the expansion of scientific knowledge and the application of that knowledge to achieving social, political, and economic ends (Fay, 1975, pp. 18-20). For given that the world is indifferent or hostile to human aspirations, it makes sense to use science to try and bring it under control. In this view, then, what is valued is what contributes to the scientific enterprise.

To say that psychological language and models reflect mechanistic assumptions is not to suggest that psychologists today would necessarily describe the world, and their place in it, in mechanistic terms. Rather, it is to claim that the language and models of some current psychological conceptual frameworks reflect deterministic, reductionistic, and atomistic views of the world and human nature, due to the influence of the positivistic view of science and objectivity.

The Positivistic View of Science and Objectivity

By "the positivistic view of science and objectivity" is meant a view wherein[4]

- the *objective* of science is to afford prediction and control of events;
- the *method* is to formulate law-like generalizations describing systematic relationships among variables; unified in (or deduced from) comprehensive, logically structured conceptual frameworks, and to verify (or falsify) these generalizations through demonstration, preferably under strictly controlled conditions, of their ability (or inability) to afford prediction and control;
- the *meanings* of the terms used to represent the variables and relationships of conceptual frameworks must be precisely--preferably quantitatively--expressed, and grounded with reference to intersubjectively-observable events;
- *explanation* of the relationships between variables is in terms of cause and effect; and
- *objectivity* is sought through strict observance of a method which eliminates subjectivity.

The positivistic view of science and objectivity can be said to reflect mechanistic assumptions in that it is consistent with a deterministic, reductionistic, and atomistic world view. For given that the world has no inherent meaning or purpose, and is indifferent or hostile to human intentions, it makes sense to try and bring it under control. In a mechanistic world, control is established by "discovering" the relationships that govern interaction of its parts. Given that all interaction is law-governed, it is reasonable to try and develop a conceptual framework which explains everything about everthing in terms of cause and effect (cf. Lonergan, pp. 36-53, 84).

Given this objective, it makes sense to verify (or falsify) theory through its ability (or inability) to afford prediction and control of events. Given this method of verification, it follows that terms denoting variables and relationships must be precisely formulated, and must refer to intersubjectively-observable events, in order to be testable (Bernstein, 1976, p. 14; see also, e.g., Mouly, p. 27; Travers, pp. 87-89). The preference for quantitative expression of relationships is sensible, given the need for precision, and the view that quality has no ultimate, objective existence.

The attempt to eliminate subjectivity to guarantee objectivity is consistent with a view that knowledge is grounded on intersubjectively-observable events. For if knowledge depends on seeing what is there and not seeing what is not there, then objectivity is a matter of putting aside all prior beliefs, expectations, and preferences, in order to observe things as they really are (Lonergan, 1957, pp. 251-253, 412-416; cf. Berlin, pp. 18-19). Similarly, if the world has no inherent meaning or purpose, it stands to reason that science should be objective (in the sense of being value-free), in order to avoid imposing personal preferences on data collection and analysis (Fay, p. 20). In the positivistic view, then, science is the paradigmatic source of knowledge precisely because only the scientific method can guarantee objectivity by eliminating subjectivity:

> Because only it (science) employs concepts which are rooted in intersubjectively evident observations, because it employs techniques of experimentation which are reproducible, because it utilizes reasoning processes which are rigorous and uniformly applicable, and because it accepts explanations only when they predict outcomes which are publicly verifiable (Fay, p. 21).

Once science is accepted as paradigmatic, all other sources of knowledge are evaluated on the basis of how closely they approximate the scientific ideal (Roszak, pp. 33-34). In other words, claims to knowledge must be accompanied by guarantees of objectivity in the form of demonstrated strict adherence to "method" and by verification in the form of the ability to predict and control. A tendency to assume that science, positivistically conceived, is the *only* valid form of knowledge, will henceforth be referred to as "the positivistic bias".

The Positivistic Bias and Outward Bound Values

As noted, the very heart of Outward Bound's educational mission is a commitment to promoting an appreciation of the core values of its tradition. However, to the extent that science--positivistically conceived--is assumed to be the only valid source of reliable information about the world, values are denied the status of knowledge. This denial takes two forms. In the first form, science is understood to deal only with "the facts", with "what is". The world, at least as it is known through science, is seen to have no inherent meaning or purpose relevant to human aspirations. The result is a complete split between fact and value--a denial that one can argue from "what is" to "what ought to be" (McIntyre, 1983, p. 84; see also, e.g., Monod, pp. 172-175). Hence the view that science offers no knowledge of the proper ends of human endeavor, only of the most expedient means of achieving them (e.g., Travers, p. 6). It follows that if science is the only source of knowledge, then knowledge of values is denied.

In its second form, the denial starts with the assumption that objectivity is equivalent to detachment. Desires and aspirations, in this view, are a source of nothing but bias. It follows that if values are based upon feelings or intentions, they are not knowledge, merely subjective preferences.[5]

The assumption that science is the paradigmatic source of knowledge can not only lead to denying values the status of knowledge. It can also lead to establishing priorities in public institutions which are incompatible with the values of self-reliance and compassion. This can happen through two possible responses to the problem of choosing priorities in the allocation of resources in a democratic

society. This choice presents a problem, for if knowledge of values is denied, then there is no rational basis for deciding among conflicting views on what is intrinsically worthwhile, with their corresponding priorities. A democratic society therefore has no rational justification for supporting any values not inherent in its social contract (Strike, 1982, pp. 5-8).

One possible response to this problem is to leave value judgments to to individual preference, and relegate values to the private sphere (Strike, pp. 8, 87-89). By default, institutions may be guided only by the lowest common denominator of priorities for living: security in the form of material abundance. Science and technology, of course, are harnessed to further this end, for science tells us how things work. However, science is inextricably tied to the objectives of prediction and control, and an associated instrumental attitude towards the environment--which includes people (Fay, pp. 38-47; Roszak, pp. 252-253). Moreover, since science and technology have become capital-intensive, they can easily end up serving the vested interests of those who control capital. That the priorities of institutions which use science to further vested interests are often incompatible with such values as self-reliance and compassion is too familiar an argument to bear repeating here (see, e.g., Fay, pp. 57-68; Karier, 1976, pp. 134-135; Roszak, pp. 167-175).

A second possible response to the problem of choosing priorities is the attempt to make science itself the foundation of value (e.g., Monod, pp. 173-180; Wilson, 1967, pp. 88-94). This approach assumes that all reasonable people, if well-informed on the facts of a given situation, would agree on the proper course of action in that situation. "Reasonable" people, of course, are those who are unbiased by anything so unreasonable as "'intuition', 'conscience', 'emotion', or 'faith'" (Wilson, p. 102). "The facts" are what is accessible to the scientific method. It follows that if there is disagreement on questions of value, then what is needed is science, and more science. Furthermore, since the world is very complex, value judgements in particular circumstances are best left to the appropriate scientific experts. Those who disagree with the judgements of science are either "ignorant" or "prejudiced" (Wilson, pp. 89-93, 98-102; also Monod, pp. 179-180; cf. Roszak, pp. 232-233). Again, that the priorities of institutions where value judgements are handed over to scientific experts are unlikely to be those of promoting self-reliance and compassion has been well-argued elsewhere (Apple, 1979, pp. 142-150; Fay, pp. 49-56; Roszak, esp. pp. 23-73, 254-274).

To recapitulate: the chapter began with an introduction to the notion of a world view and an affirmation that how an individual or culture views the world is closely interrelated with their attitude towards it, their beliefs concerning what is truly worthwhile and corresponding priorities, and their efforts to come to know it. The mechanistic world view was subsequently presented as being deterministic, reductionistic, and atomistic; and as a coherent context for the positivistic view of the objectives of science, the meaning of its terms, its method of verification, its form of explanation, and its notion of objectivity. Finally, it was shown how the positivistic bias is incompatible with Outward Bound values because it denies values the status of knowledge, and relegating values to the private sphere opens the way for the domination in the public domain of the priority of maximizing prediction and control of events through the production of scientific and technological knowledge.

Thus far, the incompatibility of mechanistic assumptions and Outward Bound values has been discussed in very general terms. It is the task of the next three chapters to indicate which specific assumptions underlying psychological language and models are incompatible with certain core values of Outward Bound tradition, and how uncritically adopting those assumptions undermines Outward Bound's commitment to those values.

Notes

[1] The notion of an individual world view is similar to the notion of an individual perspective and corresponding horizon. See Lonergan, 1971, pp. 235-236.

[2] The summary of mechanistic assumptions is my own synthesis, based in large part on Pepper's (1942) analysis of the mechanistic "world hypothesis", especially discrete mechanism, pp. 195-205.

[3] Fay, 1975, pp. 34-41; also Roszak, 1972, p. 194. This is the view of science presented in popular introductory texts to educational research, e.g., Mouly, 1978, pp. 26-29; Travers, 1969, p. 5.

[4] There is, of course, no one positivistic view, for there are substantive differences among the views of science in this category. This characterization of a positivistic view of science and objectivity is my own synthesis of certain common elements, based on the voluminous literature on "positivistic paradigm" research (cf. Hollis, 1977, p. 47). For historical accounts and philosophical analyses of the varieties of positivism, see Bernstein, 1976, pp. 5-14; Philips, 1987, pp. 37-42).

[5] The view that all judgments of value reduce to statements of personal preferences is generally referred to as emotivism. See MacIntyre, pp. 11-35; also Green, 1973.

Chapter Three

Behaviouristic Language and Self-reliance.

To illustrate how Outward Bound's uncritical adoption of psychological language and models undermines it's commitment to certain core values of its tradition, it is necessary to clarify what is meant by "language and models".

Language and Models

First, by "a model", I mean "a specified set of variables and their relationships". As used here, then, "model" is roughly synonymous with "theory" or "conceptual framework". One example of a model is Piaget's outline of four stages of cognitive development. Like most models, it has a set of terms representing its variables and their relationships--its "language"--e.g., "sensory-motor", "concrete operational", etc. (Harmon & Templin, 1977, p. 13). Another example of a model is Walsh and Golin's (1976) schematic representation of the Outward Bound process, which describes the ideal relationship between such variables as "participant motivation" and "contrast in the physical environment". The meaning of the terms drawn from a particular model, then, reflects a particular set of implicitly-defined variables and relationships, which in turn expresses a particular understanding of how things work or fit together.[1]

A model need not be understood as an exact description of a "reality" which is "out there". It may be understood as a simplified account of certain features of and relationships in the social and physical environment, which proves useful in understanding and dealing with certain kinds of situations. A common analogy for a model is a map. The relation of a model to reality is likened to the relation of a map to the geographical area it represents. Different kinds of maps select different features of the environment to represent: a road map contains different information than a canoe map. Analogously, then, what elements of an environment are included in a model depends, in part, upon the model's intended use. For instance, a model used for prediction and control is not likely to contain variables which cannot be measured or manipulated (e.g., Harmon & Templin, 1977, p. 2). Similarly, a model which generalizes from a class of situations is likely to include only what is similar in those situations, and to ignore what is different.[2]

A model tends to be self-fulfilling. In other words, using a model in dealing with situations tends to reinforce the assumptions embodied in the model concerning *what* features of the situation are most important and *how* they are related. A model tends to be self-fulfilling precisely because it is selective: it directs attention to certain features of the environment and suggests interpretation of those features in a certain way. It also tends to be self-fulfilling because acting in a situation in a manner consistent with the assumptions of a model can shape the situation to conform to those assumptions (Apple, pp. 4-5, 102-103; Weick, 1979, pp. 140-141, 156-164, 201, 217).

The tendency of assumptions to be self-fulfilling has been recognized in the area of self-concept research. A classic example is someone who assumes (for whatever reasons) that he is unlikable. This assumption, and the corresponding expectation of rejection, inclines him to be particularly sensitive to actions which can be interpreted as disapproval or disinterest. It can even lead him to overly defensive or aggressive behaviour, creating responses which confirm the expectation of rejection, and reinforce the vicious circle (Combs, Avila, & Purkey, 1978, pp. 86-88).

It is worthy of emphasis that the self-fulfilling tendencies of assumptions, whether contained in a scientific theory or a self-concept, are magnified to the extent they are not recognized as assumptions, but are taken as self-evident or as common sense (Nisbett & Ross, 1980, p. 89). It is therefore cause

for concern when any one particular view of a situation, with its associated priorities and attitudes, is taken as the *only* valid perspective. For whatever features of the situation are insignificant from that perspective are likely to be ignored. Responses to the situation would be correspondingly limited, with possible disastrous consequences (Weick, pp. 7, 137, 215-218). In this thesis, "bias" is used to refer to any tendency to assume one perspective or view is *the*, as opposed to *a*, valid perspective.

The term "models" has been preferred to "theories" because "model" has a slightly more concrete connotation than "theory", and because conceptual frameworks--complete with underlying assumptions concerning what is and is not significant--are often adopted in a relatively concrete form. For example, the Outward Bound process as conceptualized by Walsh and Golins is very general and abstract. To meet specific educational objectives for particular populations the process is translated into programs--a Standard Course outline, perhaps.[3] Consequently, to adopt the outline of a course structured to conform to Walsh and Golin's model is also to adopt, wittingly or not, the underlying assumptions of that theory. To adopt Walsh and Golins's model, in other words, is to adopt their perspective on what course elements are most significant, and how they are best interrelated.

Given this understanding of models, then, what psychological language and models reflect mechanistic assumptions? How are those assumptions incompatible with commitment to Outward Bound traditional values?

Behaviouristic Language and Educational Priorities

An obvious example of psychological language and models which reflect mechanistic assumptions is behaviourism, for behaviourism quite unapologetically adopts a deterministic, reductionistic, and atomistic view of the individual (Strike, 1982, p. 34). Essentially, behaviourism proceeds on the assumption that complex human behaviour is reducible to, and determined by, simple stimulus-response patterns.

Behaviourism's view of the individual is the consequence of an attempt to make the study of human behaviour conform to the positivistic view of science (Dagenais, 1972, pp. 1-11; Kolesnick, 1975, p. 105). For given the objective of prediction and control, explanations of human behaviour must be in terms of cause and effect. Similarly, given the need to define variables and relations in terms with testable implications, behaviourism cannot include conscious decision as an explanation of behaviour, for conscious events are not intersubjectively observable. Thus the objective of prediction and control is inextricably tied to a view of individuals as passive and predetermined (Hollis, 1977, pp. 9-12).

Educational practice adopting behaviouristic assumptions is incompatible with respect for individual autonomy, because according to behaviourism, freedom is an illusion. There is no possibility of trying to change behaviour by appealing to conscious understanding and choice, for the positivistic view of science rules out consideration of any event not intersubjectively observable (Kolesnick, pp. 83-104). Behaviourism thus leads directly to attempts to change behaviour by manipulating the environment and supplying appropriate positive and negative conditioning. Essentially, behaviourism represents the attempt to extend the scientific objectives of prediction and control to encompass all aspects of human behaviour (Dagenais, pp. 11-14).

The danger represented by behaviourism, then, is that its view of individuals as passive and predetermined can lead to an instrumental attitude towards them, and a corresponding production model of education. By "a production model of education" is meant an approach where

> Learning is the product, teaching is the production process, the child is the raw material. Learning is something done to the child whose own values are not important and whose co-operation is not required. (Strike, pp. 80-81)

For the view of individuals as passive and predetermined is incompatible with the view of individuals as autonomous, responsible actors, which is the basis of the liberal value of respect for individual autonomy.

Strike argues that educators may "back into" a behaviourist view of individuals, with a subsequent cbmpromise of individual freedom, through "our affection for such enterprises as accountability and our consequent employment of behaviouristic technologies and behaviourist language" (Strike, p. 83). Similarly, Combs, Avila, and Purkey (pp. 103-104) warn that our society's preoccupation with objectivity, the scientific method, and efficiency can easily lead to a production model of education, with its emphasis upon modifying behaviour and its tendency to view people "as objects to be molded or shaped". Finally, Apple (pp. 105-106) argues that the language and models of "systems management and behavioural objectives" and "technically and positivistically oriented educational evaluation done by 'experts'" has already gone "to the very roots of the brains of educators". He warns that the associated assumptions, attitudes, and priorities have been taken for granted, which magnifies the danger that students will be treated as "product" (Apple, p. 112).

> The philosophical naivete and the strikingly deterministic aspect of systems management as it is applied in education is perhaps most evident in the dictim that requires of those building instructional systems, for instance, to "formulate specific learning objectives, clearly stating whatever the learner is expected to be able to do, know, and feel as an outcome of his learning experiences". (Apple, pp. 110-111)

Does this seem far removed from Outward Bound? In 1973, Outward Bound adopted whole-heartedly the attempt to re-formulate instructional objectives in behavioural terms, as part of a larger project "to develop instructor accountability and management by objectives systems appropriate to the Outward Bound process" (Harmon, 1978, p. 14; see also James, 1980a, pp. 114-115). The limitations of specifying educational objectives in terms of observable behaviours have been discussed elsewhere (e.g., Combs, pp. 6-12; Strike, pp. 35-39). What is important to note here is that the attempt to specify Outward Bound course objectives in terms of particular behaviours presupposes that course objectives are decided upon without consultation with the participants. There is little room for negotiation between instructor and participants on desirable outcomes--they are essentially passive in this regard. This is contrary to Outward Bound traditional practice, which places great emphasis upon participation in setting goals. Indeed, it is thought essential to promoting self-reliance that participants share responsibility for setting and meeting course objectives (James, 1980a, p. 41; Miner & Boldt, pp. 50-52; Suchman, 1985a, p. 4).

It is also noteworthy that Outward Bound's adoption of behavioural objectives was part of a move towards greater accountability. In the production model of accountability, the educator is responsible for student behaviour precisely because students are assumed to be passive partners in the process (Kolesnick, p. 115). The move to make instructors accountable for the achievement of pre-defined objectives is again incompatible with traditional practice, where evaluation of success is primarily the participants's responsibility, aided by the instructor (COBS, 1984, p. 7) Again, giving participants the responsibility for evaluating their progress is seen as consistent with promoting self-reliance (COBWS, 1984, p. 7).

The point here is not to suggest that, if Outward Bound collects data in the form of observed behaviours, then it will necessarily turn into a Skinnerian behaviour-modification camp.[4] Nor is it to discount the need for accountability and sound management.[5] The point is that the language used to

talk about people influences both assumptions about and attitudes towards them. In turn, assumptions and attitudes affect how people are treated in the pursuit of educational objectives.[6] Accordingly, *language and models borrowed to explain or evaluate how Outward Bound "works" should be scrutinized to insure that their underlying assumptions are compatible with Outward Bound values.*

Bacon's Metaphoric Education Model.

To pick an example close to home: it is interesting in this context to examine the assumptions underlying the "metaphoric education" model in Stephen Bacon's (1983, p. 2) influential book *The Conscious Use of Metaphor in Outward Bound*.[7] Bacon shares the view that an individual's experiences and actions are shaped by their assumptions and expectations. He also agrees that an individual's assumptions and expectations--their "reality map" or "world view"--have self-fulfilling tendencies, which sometimes present obstacles to growth. For example, where a failure to cope successfully in a certain kind of situation generates a self-fulfilling *belief* that one is incapable in such situations and corresponding self-defeating *behaviours*. Accordingly, Bacon's book is full of advice to instructors on how to help participants break out of unsuccessful patterns of behaviour and belief (Bacon, pp. 9-10; cf. COBS, p. 120).

There is nothing unusual in Bacon's analysis of the problems presented by limiting assumptions and expectations--particularly those of an unhealthy self-concept. Nor is there anything new in his description of the basic Outward Bound approach to these problems, which consists of creating conditions wherein participants try new and successful strategies to old problems, and so break out of old patterns (Bacon, p. 10; cf. COBS, p. 120). What distinguishes Bacon is his model of metaphoric education--complete with esoteric language--of how the new strategies developed in the Outward Bound context will be available to participants after the course is over.

According to Bacon's model, "humans are cognitively designed so that they can make sense of the present only in terms of the literal experiences in their past" (Bacon, p. 8).[8] In this view, in other words, recollections of past experiences function unconsciously and metaphorically to interpret present experience. To borrow Bacon's example: an individual's understanding of the phrase "a look of resentment" consists of whatever recollections of concrete experiences are unconsciously associated with that phrase (Bacon, p. 7). The unconscious process by which appropriate recollections are chosen Bacon calls "the transderivational search" (Bacon, p. 6).

Given this understanding of how humans make sense of new experiences, Bacon believes that the new strategies developed at Outward Bound will be available to participants back home because (a) the success experiences constitute powerful new metaphors, and (b) recollections of these experiences will affect interpretation of and thus response to situations *unconsciously* via the transderivational search. For Bacon, then, it is not necessary that participants consciously grasp the meaning of an experience for them to change their behaviour. It is in this de-emphasis of conscious understanding and choice that Bacon's model is comparable to behaviourism, and could lead to a similar compromise of individual autonomy in educational practice.[9] For Bacon plays down the instructor's role of facilitating reflection upon experience (Bacon, pp. 10-11). In Bacon's eyes, the instructor's job is essentially to lead participants into successful experiences and to shape their interpretation of their experiences by providing--often covertly--the appropriate metaphor(s) (Bacon, pp. 11-13).

Bacon emphasizes the instructor's profound influence upon both *what* a participant experiences and *how* it is interpreted (Bacon, pp. 19-20, 24-27, 40, 91-92). Indeed, he states that such influence is unavoidable. The instructor's only choice is whether to wield it deliberately or haphazardly (Bacon, p. 27). However, Bacon is also sensitive to the danger that instructors might impose "their own beliefs and styles on their students regardless of whether such beliefs are useful or appropriate" (Bacon, p. 20). Bacon's suggestions on how to minimize this danger are essentially twofold. First, that instructors

should clarify their own particular vision of Outward Bound values and assumptions. Second, that they should balance their efforts to promote their personal vision with a careful assessment of the "idiosyncratic needs" of the individuals whom they are instructing (Bacon, pp. 20-21, 91-92).

It is cause for some concern that, the above notwithstanding, it is not clear in Bacon's book to what extent an instructor is justified in making-over an individual or group in the instructor's image of who they should be. For there seems to be an assumption that the instructor is better qualified than the participants to determine what they need (e.g., Bacon, pp. 12, 16). Instructor and participants are not portrayed in Bacon's book as partners or collaborators in a learning process (cf. Combs, Avila, & Purkey, pp. 104-106). On the contrary, the instructor is portrayed as always in control--"on top" of the situation. He or she is rarely portrayed as offering a metaphor for a situation as one possible perspective. More often, the instructor covertly shapes the participants' interpretation through skillful "weaving" of activities, emotions, and archetypes (Bacon, pp. 45-49).

If Outward Bound is to promote self-reliance, then it must help participants understand their Outward Bound experiences sufficiently (a) to appropriate Outward Bound values and assumptions *critically*, and (b) to direct their own learning process (see James, 1980a, pp. 76-78). For if participants have no understanding of how they broke out of unsuccessful patterns of behaviour, then they are left dependent upon others when similar problems arise. Given Bacon's obvious desire to help people, it is surprising that it never seems to occur to him that an instructor might avoid undue influence by teaching *participants* such techniques as "reframing" a situation (Bacon, pp. 40-45). The conscious use of metaphor seems reserved for Outward Bound staff only. One cannot but suspect that this apparent oversight is related to Bacon working within his model of metaphoric education, which emphasizes modifying behaviour through shaping unconscious interpretations more than promoting conscious understanding and choice.

Bacon is due much credit for directing attention to a powerful but neglected dimension of the Outward Bound process. His suggestions for the conscious use of metaphor have prompted valuable discussion and innovation both within and without the Outward Bound community, and hopefully will continue to do so. However, to the extent Bacon's model is taken as *the* correct view of how participants learn from course experiences, there is a real danger that promoting critical understanding--and thus self-reliance--will be undermined. Bacon's metaphoric education model thus needs to be complemented by conceptions of learning which give proper place to the role of conscious understanding and choice.[10]

In brief: promoting self-reliance is a core value of Outward Bound tradition. The priorities inherent in the assumptions underlying behaviouristic language and models of education concern not empowerment, but control. Therefore, to the extent Outward Bound articulates its objectives and methods in such language and models, its commitment to promoting self-reliance will be undermined.

Notes

[1] See Lonergan, 1957, pp. 11-13 for a discussion of primitive terms and implicit definition.

[2] For an expansion of the map analogy, see Roszak, pp. 407-410.

[3] For an elaboration of the distinction between process and programs, see Walsh & Golins, 1976, pp. 3-4.

[4] For critical overviews of the debate on behavioural objectives, and alternatives in evaluation, see Combs, 1972; and Doll, 1972.

[5] For a discussion of the need for a balance between accountability and autonomy in instructing Outward Bound courses, see James, 1980a, pp. 88-91; also Combs, pp. 12-23). It should not be assumed, of course, that accountability is a one-way proposition.

[6] See Apple, p. 129; Harré, Clarke, & de Carlo, pp. 4-5, 10-12. I am not arguing that assumptions about human nature or the proper source(s) of knowledge necessarily entail specific educational priorities and practices, only that such assumptions do in fact have an influence upon both what is taught and how. See Egan, 1978; and Strike & Posner, 1976.

[7] It is some indication of the book's influence that a discussion of its approach--and a free copy--was part of my staff training at COBWS in 1984. My copy is getting dog-eared from instructors borrowing it to take "into the field" on courses. The book is also known to educators outside Outward Bound: it is a text in the Queen's University Co-op Program in Outdoor and Experiential Education. Bacon is currently the Director of Research and Program Development at Outward Bound USA. He designed the book to be an instructor's manual (Bacon, p. vii). In fact, the 1984 edition of the COBS Instructor's Manual quotes the book verbatim, sometimes without acknowledgement (COBS, pp. 117, 121-122; cf. Bacon, pp. 2, 17-18.

[8] Bacon seems to suggest that the meaning of an abstract term is reducible to a "literal" or "concrete" experience (pp. 7-8). If this is Bacon's view, then it is noteworthy that an empiricist view of meaning is seen to be the forerunner of behaviourism (Strike, pp. 30-35).

[9] In the absence of precise references in Bacon's book to the origin of such concepts as the "transderivational search", it is difficult to establish the assumptions underlying the model of metaphoric education. Given the positive view of metaphor and archetypes in Bacon's book, it seems reasonable to suppose that the model owes more to Jung than to Watson or Skinner. See Bacon, p. ix.

[10] For a model of transfer of learning which combines metaphoric education with complementary approaches, see Gass, 1985. Bacon (p. ix) himself is very much aware of the limitations of any one perspective, and the need for collaboration.

Chapter Four

Kohlberg's Model and Value-forming Experiences

Given that its mission is to promote appreciation of a certain set of values, Outward Bound represents a certain approach to moral education.[1] Mainstream moral education is heavily influenced by developmental psychologist Lawrence Kohlberg's model of moral development (Chrislip, p. 3; Colby, 1978, p. 89). This model is known to educators within Outward Bound as well: a COBS course director, David Chrislip, used it to develop a process guide for courses. The intent of this chapter is to (a) summarize Kohlberg's model, as adopted by Chrislip; (b) analyze its underlying assumptions; and (c) contrast its implications for moral education with Outward Bound traditional practice.

Kohlberg's Model of Moral Development.

Kohlberg's model presents moral development as a transition through six stages of moral judgement. Each stage of moral development is assessed by analyzing the form or structure (as opposed to content) of judgments on value-related issues. In this model, judgments on value-related issues are truly moral to the extent they are based upon principles which are (a) self-chosen for reasons of conscience, and (b) universally applicable. In other words, the "highest" moral principles are those which (a) resolve moral conflicts in ways which are intuited to be right, and (b) can do so consistently (Kohlberg, 1971, pp. 184-185).

According to Kohlberg, all the principles which meet these criteria are different forms of the single notion of justice (Kohlberg, 1971, pp. 210-211; 220-221). Thus the highest stage of moral development in this model--"principled conscience"--is characterized as follows:

> *Stage 6: The universal ethical principle orientation.* Right is defined by the decision of conscience in accord with self-chosen ethical principles appealing to logical comprehensiveness, universality, and consistency. These principles are abstract and ethical (the Golden Rule, the categorical imperative); they are not concrete moral rules...At heart, these are the universal principles of justice, of the reciprocity and equality of human rights, and of respect for the dignity of human beings as individual persons. (Kohlberg, 1971, p. 165)

What is the basis of this view of morality? According to Kohlberg, research indicates that all individuals, regardless of culture, spontaneously seek formally and substantively universal moral principles. In other words, individuals are in the end only satisfied with guidelines for moral decisions that are "universalizable to all moral actors in all moral situations" (Kohlberg, 1971, p. 212). This notion of an innate desire for "universal prescriptive principles" explains why the moral guidelines intuited to be right--those which satisfy conscience--are the same as those which are comprehensive, universal, and consistent. It also explains why they are all variations on the single theme of justice. For justice, defined as "the distribution of rights and duties regulated by concepts of equality and reciprocity" (Kohlberg, 1976, p. 40), is the only logically and substantively universal principle (Kohlberg, 1971, pp. 211-212, 218-222; Lickona, 1976, p. 5).

It is worthy of emphasis that, for Kohlberg, this formulation of justice in terms of the reciprocity and equality of human rights is the highest form of "respect for the dignity of human beings as individual persons". This ethic of justice is also presented as equivalent to the Kantian categorical imperative to treat all people as ends-in-themselves, not as means. Indeed, justice is seen as a superior guideline for judgment in that it is more explicit: it specifies that to treat all people as ends--as of "unconditional worth"--means to treat them equally (Kohlberg, 1971, pp. 212; 220-221).

In Kohlberg's model, moral development begins with the recognition of conflict between one's own and another's position or perspective on a value-related issue. An inability to resolve this conflict is experienced as distressful, given the innate desire for universal principles. This "disequilibrium" provides the impetus to restructure the form of one's moral reasoning. In other words, it provides motivation to work out a perspective which enables one both to differentiate the conflicting positions and to integrate them in some consistent manner--thereby resolving the conflict. Principled-conscience is the highest form of moral judgment, then, because "it handles more moral problems, conflicts, or points of view in a more stable or self-consistent way" (Kohlberg, 1971, pp. 184-185).

Kohlberg's Model and Moral Education.

In Kohlberg's model, the achievement of higher stages of moral judgement requires sophisticated moral reasoning skills, e.g., the ability to differentiate and integrate diverse points of view. Cognitive development--specifically, the development of the capacity for formal operations--is thus a necessary condition for moral development. It is not a sufficient condition, however, for moral development also requires "role-taking"--the ability to appreciate another person's perspective (Kohlberg, 1971, pp. 187-191). For it is the capacity to appreciate another viewpoint at the same time as one's own that allows conflict.

According to Kohlberg, the ability to resolve conflict by restructuring one's moral reasoning is facilitated by exposure to examples of reasoning at the next higher stage (Kohlberg, 1971, pp. 194-195). Moral education based upon Kohlberg's model is therefore generally some mixture of

- providing opportunities for role-taking to promote recognition of conflicting view-points;
- providing opportunities for discussion of conflicting view-points to promote development of moral reasoning skills; and
- providing examples of moral reasoning at appropriate higher stages to promote restructuring of moral judgment (See, e.g., Chrislip, 1980; Harmon & Templin, 1977, pp. 20-21; cf. Kohlberg, 1976, p. 52).

Three points remain to be noted concerning Kohlberg's model and moral education. First, the model lacks concrete suggestions on how an educator could improve an individual's capacity for role-taking in a peer-group situation, beyond meeting their minimal needs for self-acceptance and for "a sense of participation and membership in the group" (Kohlberg, 1971, p. 191). It seems to be assumed that merely providing opportunities for role-taking is sufficient, given the individual's inherent desire to develop moral principles which apply to all actors in all situations.

Second, feelings play no positive role in Kohlberg's model of moral development. For according to Kohlberg, feelings are in themselves morally neutral. Feelings affect decisions and actions according to how they are *interpreted*, which is determined by cognitive orientation--one's point of view (Kohlberg, 1971, pp. 188-190, 230-231). Promoting affective development therefore plays no significant role in moral education based on this model (Wallwork, 1985, p. 96).

Third, to base moral judgements on universal prescriptive principles cannot be justified in nonmoral, e.g., instrumental terms (Kohlberg, 1971, pp. 217-218). However, given the innate desire for such principles, they are intuited to be the proper basis for resolving conflicting claims. It is justifiable to promote moral development to the principled conscience stage, then, because it is "the end point of sequential 'natural' development in social functioning and thinking" (Kohlberg, 1971, p. 155). For Kohlberg, the search for comprehensive, universal, and consistent moral principles is self-validating to any impartial moral actor, for it reflects an invariant, natural sequence of development of moral decision-making capabilities (Kohlberg, pp. 153-155; 180-181; 213-214).

How does this compare to Outward Bound's approach to moral education?

Outward Bound and Moral Education.

As noted, Outward Bound's approach to promoting an appreciation of its traditional values is to impel participants into value-forming experiences. By that is meant that Outward Bound attempts to create conditions wherein participants experience directly and concretely the consequences of adopting certain priorities (James, 1980a, p. 88). For example, the Outward Bound approach to promoting physical fitness is to provide structure and support for participants to exercise regularly. Similarly, the approach to promoting creativity or craftsmanship is to provide opportunities for participants to create. In both cases, it is anticipated that the actual experience of improving fitness or being creative will be self-validating. In other words, the satisfaction of becoming fit or being creative will be sufficient reason to expend the necessary effort (Ewald, 1970, pp. 29-30; James, 1957, p. 58; Miner & Boldt, pp. 62-66).

This experiential approach bears a superficial resemblance to moral education on Kohlberg's model, in that both leave choice to individuals and both expect certain experiences to be self-validating. However, the radical difference between the two approaches is revealed in comparing *what* experiences they hold to be self-validating, their resulting values, and their corresponding educational priorities.

In Kohlberg's model, as noted, justice is the highest principle because it satisfies the individual's natural desire for unambiguous moral guidelines consistently applicable to all actors in all situations. The self-validating experience is the insight that justice, defined in universal and abstract terms, meets the criteria of comprehensiveness, universality, and consistency. For if one accepts the notion of an innate desire for universal moral principles, then it makes sense that the experience of resolving moral dilemmas through application of the principle of justice will be self-validating. Given that the highest form of moral judgment is based upon universal and abstract principles, an individual's stage of moral development is measured in terms of how closely their moral reasoning approaches this ideal. Moral education using this model thus focuses upon developing moral reasoning capabilities.

In contrast, compassion is the highest value within Outward Bound because it strikes "the deepest chords of the human spirit". The self-validating experience is the fulfillment of a desire for meaning and purpose through working for the benefit of others (Brereton, 1970, pp. 54-55; Miner & Boldt, p. 58). This experience is as much affective as cognitive, and is in essence concrete and relational, for it arises through an affirmation of human worth in action. Accordingly, the meaning of compassion is not expressed in universal and abstract terms, but is evoked through concrete illustrations--for instance, the parable of the Good Samaritan (Miner & Boldt, pp. 58, 346, 352; see also McLachlan, p. 6). Similarly, compassion is promoted in an Outward Bound course primarily through *service*, i.e., the concrete experience of devoting time and energy to the well-being of others (Miner & Boldt, pp. 137, 235, 247-248; see also COBWS, 1984, p. 96).

One would expect that these radically different approaches to moral education reflect radically different perspectives on reality and on what it means to be human. What world views, then, seem consistent with the two approaches? What different assumptions are made?

Kohlberg's Model and the Rationalistic Bias.

Concerning Kohlberg's model: if values are denied the status of knowledge, then there is no rational grounds for affirming one set of personal preferences over another. This moral relativism reflects two assumptions: that there is no inherent meaning or purpose in the world, and that the scientific method is the paradigmatic source of knowledge. In response to the necessity of making value judgments, and the problem of no accepted rational basis for the preference of one set of values

over another, value judgments are (a) sometimes left to individual preference; (b) sometimes handed over to scientific or professional experts;[2] (c) sometimes justified as self-evidently "reasonable" to any unbiased individual; and (d) sometimes derived from the egalitarian ideals of Western Democracy.

Granted this (admittedly over-simplified) analysis, Kohlberg's model seems to reflect a mechanistic world view in that its highest form of moral judgment is precisely a composite of (a) individual choice; (b) the "self-evident" criteria of comprehensiveness, universality, and consistency; and (c) the Democratic egalitarian ideal of equal distribution of rights. Moreover, Kohlberg appears to assume science is the paradigmatic source of knowledge, given his belief that his empirical research methods have given him access to "the truth":

> While these notions were mere assumptions fifteen years ago, we believe our longitudinal and cross-cultural research has now turned these assumptions into well-verified factual conclusions. (Kohlberg, 1971, p. 155)

There is a deeper aspect to the matter, however, which is brought to light by asking: *Why* have "objectivity" (conceived as detachment) and the logical criteria of comprehensiveness, universality, and consistency been elevated to the status of self-evident ideals?

The high esteem given to objectivity and to logic make sense given a mechanistic view of the world and the associated priority of maximizing prediction and control of events. Given this priority, *it makes sense to value what is amenable or conducive to control*. In a mechanistic world, control is established by "discovering" the universal and abstract laws that govern interaction of its parts. Given that all interaction is law-governed, it makes sense to try and develop a conceptual framework which explains everything about everything (Lonergan, 1957, p. 84). In other words, one that is comprehensive, universal, and consistent (Lonergan, 1957, pp. 46-47,130-131, 296; cf. Mouly, pp. 12-17).

Given this view, what is amenable to control and thus valued is what is unambiguous, systematic, quantifiable, predictable, and manipulable. What is conducive to control and thus valued is "reason"–i.e., the ability to develop conceptual frameworks through abstraction and deduction. What is not amenable to control and thus not valued is what is equivocal, unpredictable, unique, unquantifiable, and/or difficult to manipulate. Not surprisingly, then, the enterprise of establishing control through generalization values what is universal and abstract over what is particular and concrete (e.g., Lonergan, 1957, pp. 89-91, 302-303; cf. MacIntyre, p. 45; Mouly, p. 72). Similarly, a preoccupation with prediction and control tends to distrust whatever cannot be precisely expressed, such as emotions, intuitions, and aesthetic experience. Hence objectivity becomes equated with detachment, what is meaningful is restricted to what can be unequivocally articulated, and feelings are discounted as sources of prejudice (e.g., Lonergan, 1957, pp. 191-192, 606; Mouly, p. 216). Given its exclusive emphasis upon "reason", this preference for what is amenable or conducive to prediction and control shall be referred to as a "rationalistic bias" (Fay, p. 44).

Much has been written on Kohlberg's cultural biases (e.g., Baumrind, esp. pp. 68-69; Gilligan, esp. pp. 18-22). It is clear that his model is not based purely on "the facts", but also reflects certain assumptions concerning what it means to be human (Wallwork, 1985, pp. 88-89). However, it is beyond the scope of this paper to evaluate Kohlberg's work, for the focus is upon the implications of his model--as generally used[3] --for moral education. Accordingly, only two indications of a rationalistic bias in Kohlberg's model will be examined, and then in terms of their implications for moral education.

First, we have noted that Kohlberg seems to place great faith in his research methods. Without entering the debate on the relative merits of different approaches to studying people, one can at least question whether Kohlberg focuses upon the forms of moral judgment (to the exclusion of other aspects of human morality, e.g., the content of people's beliefs, decisions, and actions on value-related

issues), because structure is more amenable to quantitative methods, with their guarantees of objectivity. The assessment of moral maturity by analyzing the forms of moral judgment, and the corresponding emphasis upon reasoning in moral education, seems at least partly based upon a need for standardized classification (Kohlberg, 1976, pp. 42-46).

Second, we have noted that, for Kohlberg, feelings play no positive role in moral development (Kohlberg, 1971, pp. 189-190, 230-231). The key assumption seems to be that the capacity for role-taking--for appreciating another point of view--is a function of cognitive, not affective development. In other words, individuals consider the feelings and claims of others not because of any sympathy or empathy, but because they have reached a stage of moral reasoning where to do otherwise is recognized as logically inconsistent. This is most clearly seen in that the motivation for doing what is believed to be right at the highest stage in Kohlberg's model is precisely the desire for self-consistency (Kohlberg, 1971, p. 171).

Kohlberg offers little support for his belief that cognitive orientation determines interpretation of feelings. It seems equally reasonable to suggest that one's comprehension of a situation is strongly influenced by one's capacity for affective response (e.g., Lonergan, 1971, pp. 50-52). Indeed, in the light of recent research, to de-emphasize the affective dimension of moral development appears to reflect a rationalist bias more than of a careful analysis of moral judgment (Gilligan, p. 18; Lickona, pp. 18-20; Wallwork, pp. 87-88, 96-98).

To recapitulate: we have asked what assumptions underlie Kohlberg's model, and what world view is consistent with those assumptions. In the light of the above, it seems reasonable to suggest that Kohlberg's model reflects a mechanistic world view in that it evidences a rationalist bias. The indications of a rationalist bias in the model are that

- it is based on a sub-set of the available data on human moral development--specifically, data amenable to standardized methods of analysis;
- it elevates the logical criteria of comprehensiveness, universality, and consistency to the status of self-evident ideals; and
- it minimizes the role of affectivity in moral development.

Again, it should be clear that the intent in bringing Kohlberg's assumptions to light is not to evaluate his research. Rather, the intent is to examine the implications for moral education of adopting different sets of assumptions. Which brings us to the questions: What world view is consistent with Outward Bound's approach to moral education? How does it differ from a mechanistic view?

Outward Bound and Intersubjectivity.

The views of the world and human nature implicit in Outward Bound tradition have never been clearly or thoroughly articulated (James, 1978, p. 6). There are indications that this is due, in part, to a disinclination to be associated with any one religious tradition (Miner & Boldt, p. 344). It may also be due, in part, to Outward Bound's history of attracting people who are primarily "doers" rather than "thinkers". Possibly the assumptions underlying Outward Bound's approach have never been articulated because those sufficiently familiar with the tradition to attempt the task, are also sufficiently familiar not to feel a need to do so.

The task of developing a coherent world view that is consistent with Outward Bound objectives and methods is too large an undertaking to be attempted here (suggestions concerning what the task would entail will be presented in the final chapter). A few elements of such a view will be suggested, however, to emphasize Outward Bound's incompatibility with a mechanistic perspective.

As noted, the affirmation of the unconditional worth of the human individual is related to a view of individuals as responsible and autonomous actors (Strike, p. 82). Outward Bound's approach to promoting compassion is concrete and relational: the worth of others is affirmed through *action*. Service to others is seen as an expression of respect for self, and of reverence for life (COBWS, 1984, p. 6). This approach seems consistent with a view of human nature and human meaning that is primarily *relational* (Kalisch, 1979, p. 11).[4]

In this view, the notion of a responsible, autonomous actor is grounded upon the experience of oneself as consciously deliberating and choosing between real options in a concrete situation. This sense of oneself as "subject" is extended to others through the experience of dialogue with another conscious, valuing subject. Thus the imperative to treat other individuals as ends-in-themselves--as of unconditional worth--is grounded precisely upon the sense that they, like oneself, originate value through conscious, deliberate decision (Lonergan, 1971, pp. 50-51).

Given this view, the moral imperative to consider the rights and feelings of others springs not from a desire for self-consistency, but from a recognition of human interdependence (Gilligan, p. 74). Conversely, feelings of guilt over failure to acknowledge another's viewpoint--essentially, treating them instrumentally, as means to the end of one's well-being--is a violation not of the canons of logic, but of human intersubjectivity (Gilligan, pp. 35-38, 160, 166, 171-174). Not surprisingly, then, one rationale for Outward Bound's approach is precisely that recognition of human interdependence is difficult to avoid on a prolonged wilderness expedition (The Outward Bound Story, 1985, pp. 90-91; Walsh and Golins, p. 6).

The intention here is by no means to minimize the importance of clear thinking, or the utility of precise conceptual frameworks. Opportunities to improve reasoning on value-laden issues, and to appreciate other viewpoints through discussion of conflicting perspectives can be important components of an Outward Bound course. However, the heart and strength of Outward Bound's approach lies not in facilitating discussion, but in creating conditions where people experience directly the consequences of their choices. This in direct contrast to Kohlberg's model, which emphasizes *moral reasoning exercises* more than *value-forming experiences*.

Chrislip's Adaptation of Kohlberg to Outward Bound

The consequences of adopting Kohlberg's model uncritically are well illustrated by Chrislip's (1980) *Process Guide for Moral Educators*.[5] In this paper, Chrislip works out the implications of Kohlberg's model for understanding how Outward Bound course activities and instructors can best enhance moral development. Essentially, for Chrislip, Outward Bound course activities promote moral development by providing both favourable conditions for role-taking and ample opportunities for discussion of value-related issues (Chrislip, pp. 8-9). Accordingly, the instructor's role in promoting moral development is essentially twofold. On one hand, to provide a "facilitative atmosphere" for role-taking and dialogue, thereby increasing the chances that conflicting views will be discussed. On the other, to sharpen participants' moral reasoning through various "questioning strategies", thereby increasing the chances that the conflicts will be resolved (Chrislip, pp. 11-14).

Chrislip's recommendations concerning facilitating discussion seem well thought-out, and a useful starting point for bringing out the consequences of participant decisions. The problem with Chrislip's paper is what it leaves out. For if moral guidelines are determined by establishing what abstract concepts meet a human desire for "universal prescriptive principles", then it makes sense to promote moral development through rational debate. However, if they are determined by discovering what concrete priorities both meet a human desire for meaning and purpose and respect human intersubjectivity, then it makes sense to promote awareness of values through exposure to their consequences in everyday interaction. In the latter view, reflection and discussion refine and develop

values which are validated through action.[6] Outward Bound course activities promote awareness of values, then, primarily through intensification of the consequences of adopting different priorities in day-to-day living (James, 1980a, pp. 88, 112; Richards, 1977, p. 65). The instructor's role is first of all to provide activities which will produce such intense experiences, and secondly to help participants take responsibility for the connection between their actions and the consequences (James, 1980b). In marked contrast, Chrislip's paper presents the intense experiences resulting from "living and working with others for 23 days" as merely providing "raw materials (moral dilemmas) for heightening moral awareness and practicing moral reasoning skills" (Chrislip, p. 9).

In short: Outward Bound's approach to promoting an appreciation of its traditional values is first and foremost *experiential*. It therefore seems reasonable to conclude that, if Outward Bound adopted Kohlberg's model of moral development uncritically, then its commitment to providing value-forming experiences would be undermined. For as Chrislip's paper illustrates, the assumptions underlying Kohlberg's model lead to an emphasis on moral reasoning skills, and a corresponding de-emphasis of the role of value-forming experiences in moral development.

Notes

[1] Chrislip, 1980, p. 8. For a definition of the distinction between moral and values education, see Blair & Bogdan, 1982, p. 235.

[2] Handing over value judgments to scientific experts and to professional experts amounts to the same thing when a profession achieves its status by virtue of possession of a specialized body of scientific knowledge. See Schon, pp. 21-24; also, e.g., Mouly, p. 17.

[3] Even in recent research, Kohlberg's model is often adopted its original form, without reference to Kohlberg's later work, or to his critics; e.g., Niles, 1986.

[4] Buber's (1970) *I and Thou* is a classic statement of such a view. See also Lonergan, 1971, pp. 57-61; Roszak, pp. 176-177; and Wallwork on Durkheim.

[5] For an account of Chrislip's role in the Outward Bound community, see James, 1980a, p. 110.

[6] For a discussion of the value of both providing and mediating experience, see James, 1980b.

Chapter Five

Self-concept, Compassion, and the Service Ethic

Outward Bound's objectives of promoting self-reliance and compassion can be expressed in terms of promoting personal growth and development (e.g., COBWS, 1984, p. 7). Outward Bound's approach to promoting personal growth (in the above sense of the term) involves providing experiences designed to help participants enhance their self-respect. The objective of enhancing self-respect reflects the four "philosophical assumptions" of Outward Bound tradition:

- one reveres life for having experienced it in real, dramatic terms;
- that from such experiences one learns to respect self;
- that from respect for self flows compassion for others; and
- that compassion for others is best expressed in service to mankind (COBWS, 1984, p. 6).

Outward Bound's goal of promoting personal growth through enhancing "respect for self" is similar to the educational objectives associated with humanistic psychology. This similarity between Outward Bound objectives and those of humanistic psychology is cause for concern. It is troublesome because, along with humanistic psychology's popularity, it makes it especially tempting for Outward Bound to describe its objectives and methods in language and models borrowed from that framework. In addition, their similarity increases the chances that Outward Bound's objectives will become confused with humanistic psychology's goals, and that the description of the former in terms of the latter will be accepted without question. The uncritical adoption of humanistic language and models is cause for concern because *accepting humanistic psychology's view of the self, and corresponding educational priorities, will undermine Outward Bound's commitment to promoting compassion through service.*

This will be seen, no doubt, as a controversial statement. Accordingly, to support it, the intent of this chapter is to clarify (a) what is meant by "humanistic psychology's view of the self", and the corresponding educational priorities; (b) in what sense humanistic psychology's view of the self reflects mechanistic assumptions; and (c) how adopting those assumptions, and the corresponding educational priorities, undermines Outward Bound's commitment to promoting compassion through service.

Humanistic Psychology's View of the Self

In referring to "humanistic psychology's view of the self", it is not assumed that there exists a clearly articulated set of propositions on human nature to which a group of self-professed humanistic psychologists agree. On the contrary, those authors referred to as humanistic psychologists--for example, Abraham Maslow, Carl Rogers, Erich Fromm, Charlotte Buhler, and Rollo May--agree principally on what they oppose (Bugental, 1965, p. 10; Kolesnick, 1975, pp. 48-49). Their substantive disagreements notwithstanding, these and other authors do share certain basic views on the self, by virtue of which they are referred to as humanistic psychologists (Kolesnick, pp. 31-32).

Humanistic psychology's view of human motivation and potential.[1] According to humanistic psychology, every human is born with innate potential, and with innate motivation to actualize it. An individual's potential is in some measure unique, although it may also be similar to that of other individuals. In order for an individual's unique potential to be fully realized, certain prior conditions must be fulfilled. The growth and development of any organism, for example, is conditional upon fulfillment of its minimal needs for physical survival.

People are motivated by a hierarchy of needs, corresponding to the successive sets of conditions requisite to realization of their potential. "Lower" needs are those which must be met before any others can be attended to. "Higher" needs are those which are given preference once lower needs have been satisfied. The need for "self-actualization", that is, for full realization of unique potential, is the highest need. For the pursuit and even temporary achievement of self-actualization is experienced as supremely satisfying, and subsequently takes precedence over other needs. This makes sense, granted the assumptions that people have innate potential and innate motivation to realize it. Humanistic psychologists accordingly conceive the ideal life as a continual process of personal growth and development, involving the fulfillment of all prior conditions for the full realization of unique potential, culminating in the pursuit and at least temporary achievements of self-actualization (Combs, Avila, & Purkey, pp. 39-40).

In humanistic psychology's view, people are invariably motivated by what they perceive to be in their own best interests (Combs, Avila, & Purkey, pp. 15-17, 37-39, 42). Behaviour is seen as a function of perception, for how a particular situation is experienced and responded to depends upon the predispositions, beliefs, and values formed through prior experience, which mediate present experience. What people perceive to be in their own best interests thus depends partly upon their particular unique potential, and partially upon what conditions for realization of that potential have already been met. Consequently, if people are motivated by any given need, say self-actualization, then (a) all lower needs must have been satisfied, and (b) they must have had some positive experience associated with the pursuit or achievement of that need, so that its pursuit or achievement is perceived to be in their own best interests. It is important to note here that what people *perceive* to be in their own best interests is not necessarily the same as what they *believe* to be in their own best interests. People can be quite unaware of, or mistaken about, their *real* motivation (Combs, Avila, & Purkey, pp. 26-28).

Educational implications. Given humanistic psychology's view of human motivation and potential, education's purpose is first and foremost to help people fully realize their unique, innate potential (Kolesnick, p. 53). This purpose involves three related tasks: (a) providing favourable conditions for growth and development; (b) preventing or removing obstacles to growth and development; and (c) providing positive experiences of growth and development, in order that people will be appropriately motivated (Combs, Avila, & Purkey, pp. 43-48, 118-120).

In addressing these tasks, educators must attend to both the environment, and individual perception of the environment. The latter, because people are motivated by what they perceive to be in their own best interests. The former, because what people perceive to be in their own best interest depends not only upon their innate potential, but also upon how prior interaction with the environment influences present perception and motivation (Combs, Avila, & Purkey, pp. 23-24).

Thus far, humanistic psychology's view of human motivation and potential, and the corresponding educational priorities, have been described in generic terms. The term "need", for example, has been used in the broadest possible sense to denote a condition for the realization of potential. Similarly, "higher" and "lower" needs have been defined only heuristically, that is, by specifying how they will be recognized as such. Given that human potential in is some measure unique, and in some measure shared, a particular person's needs will be in some measure idiosyncratic, and in some measure similar to the needs of others. Beyond this, however, what those needs are cannot be specified *a priori* except generically, but must be established empirically.

The point here is that, even among those who share this view of human motivation and potential, there is room for substantive disagreement over (a) what constitutes favourable conditions for growth and development, (b) what represents serious obstacles to be prevented or removed, and (c) what positive experiences are most important to promote. For different positions on these matters will

reflect different views on such questions as the range of human potential, and the extent to which it is idiosyncratic--and such questions are difficult to resolve empirically (Combs, Avila, & Purkey, pp. 10-11, 69).

That substantive disagreement exists among humanistic psychologists has already been noted. However, there is agreement that self-concept is the single most important determinant of perception and behaviour (Combs, Avila, & Purkey, pp. 20-22, Kolesnick, pp. 43-44; cf. Kesselheim, 1978, p. 43). In humanistic psychology, then, (a) a healthy self-concept is a necessary condition for personal growth and development, (b) conversely, an unhealthy self-concept is a serious obstacle to growth and development, and must be prevented or redressed, and (c) it is vitally important to provide experiences which promote a healthy self-concept. Accordingly, for educators who share humanistic psychology's views of the self, promoting a healthy self-concept is a high, if not the highest, educational priority (Combs, Avila, & Purkey, pp. 19-20, 28-29, 85-90; Kolesnick, p. 45).

To affirm the importance of promoting a healthy self-concept is to beg the questions: "What is a healthy self-concept?" and "What experiences are likely to promote it?". Answers to these questions will again depend, of course, on what basic assumptions are made concerning the self. Thus a more specific account of the educational priorities associated with humanistic psychology requires a closer look at its view of the self.

Humanistic Psychology and Mechanistic Assumptions.

Human cultures have tended to conceive social and psychological reality on the same model they conceive physical reality (Roszak, pp. 217-218). Not surprisingly, then, those with a mechanistic view of physics came to see society, and even the individual, on the model of machines (Roszak, pp. 180-181). For example, as the universe was seen as the systematic interaction of law-governed particles, so society was seen as (ideally) the orderly interaction of rationally-regulated individuals. The mechanistic view of the world thus implies a corresponding reductionistic, deterministic, and atomistic view of the self. It is therefore not surprising that the behaviouristic view of the self, resulting from an attempt to conform to the positivistic view of science, is reductionistic, deterministic, and atomistic.[2]

Humanistic psychology arose precisely in opposition to behaviourism's mechanistic view of the self (Kolesnick, p. 81). It may therefore seem strange to suggest that humanistic psychology reflects mechanistic assumptions. The above notwithstanding, there are indications that humanistic psychology's rejection of mechanism is inconsistent and incomplete. On the one hand, there is a sense in which humanistic psychology firmly rejects deterministic, reductionistic, and atomistic views of the self in in affirming that people are more than just the sum of their parts, and that human behaviour cannot be understood without appreciating what goes on in people's heads.

On the other hand, however, there is also a sense in which humanistic psychology's view of the self is both reductionistic and deterministic. It is reductionistic when human motivation--even conscious intention of the loftiest ideals--is explained in terms of biological imperatives (Daniels, 1982, p. 71; cf. Combs. Avila, & Purkey, pp. 37-38).[3] It is deterministic when individual potential is seen as biologically "given". For example, it is not clear how, given a biological view of the self, human choice is not limited to graciously accepting or fruitlessly denying innate motivation to realize innate potential. Similarly, it is not clear where decision fits in when behaviour is determined by perceptions, which in turn are determined by prior experiences (e.g., Combs, Avila, & Purkey, pp. 16-17, 40-41). It is certainly true that, according to humanistic psychology, the real explanation for behaviour often has little to do with conscious understanding and choice (Combs, Avila, & Purkey, pp. 27-28).

A deterministic interpretation of humanistic psychology's account of perception is supported by Combs, Avila, & Purkey's views that (a) human behaviour is predictable, given knowledge of perceptions (pp. 41-42); (b) understanding the real reasons for human behaviour is most reliably achieved not through questioning the actors, but through inferring their perceptions from behaviour (pp. 27-28, cf. Daniels, p. 71, on Maslow's "real self"); (c) human responsibility for socially unacceptable behaviour is problematic, because everyone always acts according to what they perceive to be in their own best interests (p. 44); and (d) humanistic psychology and behaviourism are complementary "internal" and "external" perspectives on human behaviour (p. 111).

Reductionistic and deterministic views of the self in humanistic psychology can be seen as attributable to mechanistic assumptions in at least two ways. First, the tendency to reduce human potential and motivation to biological bases can be seen as a response to the moral vacuum left by accepting positivistic science's is/ought dichotomy. For although it does not follow necessarily that, if one has a unique potential, then one *should* attempt to realize it, the notion of self-actualization does offer some positive grounds for deciding what to do with one's life. Second, the tendency to explain human behaviour as determined or produced by perceptions can be seen as an attempt to remain within a view of science which allows only cause-effect explanations of phenomena (see Daniels, pp. 69-71, cf. Kolesnick, p. 44).

There is no need here to resolve the question whether, or to what extent, humanistic psychology's view of human motivation and potential reflects mechanistic assumptions. The point is that its view of the self is susceptible to reductionistic and deterministic interpretations in the absence of clearly-articulated alternatives. For example, if the view that perception--particularly self-concept--produces behaviour is not to be interpreted deterministically, then what is required is an account of how conscious awareness and reflection introduces real choice into human experience and action. The importance of this point will be seen in examining the educational implications of a view of self-concept as determinant of behaviour.

Humanistic Psychology and the Individualistic Bias.

It has been shown how, given humanistic psychology's view of the self, promoting a healthy self-concept becomes a high (if not the highest) educational priority. The danger here is that the view of self-concept as determinant of behaviour, and a corresponding exclusive emphasis on self-concept in education, can perpetuate an individualistic bias. In this context, "an individualistic bias" refers to a tendency to reduce problems with personal, interpersonal, social, political, and economic dimensions to individual problems.[4] The view of self-concept as determinant of behaviour perpetuates an individualistic bias, then, to the extent it suggests that all problems can be addressed at the personal or perhaps interpersonal level, through altering the self-concepts of the people involved (e.g., Combs, Avila, & Purkey, pp. 22-23, 29-30).

In this context, it is worthy of note that Combs, Avila, & Purkey speak more than once about the profound social and personal problems "brought about by the terrible dehumanizing forces we have set loose in our midst" (p. 96). Technological innovation and unequal social opportunity are understood as major contributing factors to these problems of "alienation and loneliness" existing "at every level of our social structure" (Combs, Avila, & Purkey, pp. 78-79, 98). It is therefore surprising that the solutions they envisage to these problems--at least, solutions within the scope of education and therapeutic practice--are essentially to enhance self-concept through improved interpersonal relationships (Combs, Avila, & Purkey, pp. 22-23, cf. p. 79).

Even granted that the educator or therapist's job is to work with individuals, not institutions, this does not exclude addressing social, political, and economic problems by (a) raising awareness of the social, political, and economic sources of such personal problems as "alienation and loneliness"; and

(b) affirming social, political, and economic activity, not just interpersonal relationships, as potential sources of personal growth and satisfaction.[5]

It has been stated that humanistic psychology's view of the self, and its educational implications, undermines Outward Bound's commitment to promoting compassion through service. As noted in the first chapter, Outward Bound's objective of promoting personal growth has traditionally been seen as part of an attempt to address broader social concerns. Indeed, the effort to develop self-reliance and compassion is intended specifically to enable participants to take responsibility for the creation of a more just society (James, 1985, p. 41). Thus *the view of self-concept as determinant of behaviour undermines Outward Bound's commitment to promoting compassion through service, to the extent it focuses attention on altering individual perception of self, to the exclusion of broader social and moral concerns.*

Walsh and Golins's Model of the Outward Bound Process

The consequences of focusing upon individual perception of self is illustrated in Walsh and Golins's (1976) *Exploration of the Outward Bound Process*. The paper was written to meet the need created by Outward Bound adaptive programs and by the Mainstream Policy for "a clarification of Outward Bound as a recognizable process" (Walsh & Golins, p. 1).

Walsh and Golins define an educational process generically as "a generalized set of conditions, objects and events which interact to produce a desired effect" (p. 1; cf. pp. ii, 2). Educational processes are thus distinct from educational objectives, for the same objectives can be achieved through different processes (Walsh & Golins, pp. ii-iii). Educational processes are also distinct from educational programs, which are translations of a given process into concrete activities for specific populations at particular times and places (pp. 1-2).[6]

Walsh and Golins define the Outward Bound process as "characteristic problem-solving tasks set in a prescribed physical and social environment which impel the participant to mastery of those tasks and which in turn serves to reorganize the meaning and direction of his life experience" (p. 2). The participant is anyone sufficiently convinced of the usefulness of mastering the set tasks to be motivated to attempt them (p. 3). Conversely, for Walsh and Golins, anyone not "thinking, feeling, and behaving as if there is something to be gained" should be excluded from participation (p. 3).

The prescribed physical environment is any environment unfamiliar to the participants. This is because new environments can open up new options for behaviour, and can afford new perspectives through contrast to more familiar settings (Walsh & Golins, p. 4). The prescribed social environment is the "ten-group": "an interdependent peer group of anywhere from seven to fifteen who have a common objective" (p. 5). This size of group is preferred because it (a) "is large enough to have diversified behaviour types; yet, it is small enough that cliques based on these types are not likely to form"; (b) "is large enough to have conflict; yet, small enough to manageably resolve it"; and (c) is large enough for there to exist "a collective consciousness or bond along with the individual consciousness of the participating peers"--particularly given that a common objection is a condition for inclusion (p. 5).

The "characteristic problem-solving tasks" are organized, concrete, manageable, consequential, and holistic. They are organized to have concrete and immediate consequences to ensure they will be taken seriously, and that success (or failure) will provide immediate feedback. Furthermore, the tasks are designed to be difficult enough to create some anxiety--"dissonance or lack of harmony"--within each participant. The assumption is that "no change or adaptation can occur without dissonance" (p. 10). The tasks are organized to be incremental and manageable to ensure they can be mastered, given sufficient motivation. The problems are holistic, in the sense that "their solution requires the fullest

complement of an individual's mental, emotional, and physical resources" (p. 9). According to Walsh and Golins, full engagement of "cognitive, affective, and psychomotor domains" maximizes "the reorganization of the meaning and direction of a person's experience" (p. 14).

Concerning *how* mastery of such tasks results in the reorganization of the meaning and direction of a person's experience, *what* such reorganization consists of, and *why* it is important to promote, Walsh and Golins state:

> The answer is deceivingly simple: the learner finds it rewarding to solve reasonable (i.e., concrete, manageable) and consequential problems holistically within a supportive peer group and in a stimulating environment. It makes one feel good about oneself and those who have assisted. Since the learner does not have the opportunity to master such problems ordinarily, he enlarges and has a more congruent perception of himself (reorganization of the meaning of experience). These new attitudes, values, (affective skills) make us more likely equipped and ready to tackle subsequent problems (reorganization of the direction of experience). (Walsh & Golins, pp. 12-13).

Essentially, then, in this model Outward Bound consists of providing the right tasks in the right conditions to promote mastery experiences. Mastery of problems perceived as significant by the participant, in a co-operative social environment, improves the participant's affective (i.e., enhanced self-concept and acceptance of others), cognitive, and physical resources to solve subsequent problems.

Walsh and Golins' paper is an insightful and useful exploration of one dimension of Outward Bound's educational methods and objectives. Again, however, the problem lies in what it leaves out. For as Suchman (1985b) points out, this portrayal of Outward Bound represents a substantive departure from traditional values. In this context, the most serious consequence of Walsh and Golins's emphasis upon "reorganization of the meaning and direction of experience" is the implication that promoting individual success experiences is Outward Bound's number one priority. This is a radical departure from Outward Bound's commitment to promoting compassion through service, where the objective of promoting personal growth is traditionally placed within the larger context of social and moral concerns. Under Hahn's direction, service was the "central theme" and "culminating event" of an Outward Bound course. It is therefore both surprising and disturbing that promoting compassion through service is completely omitted from Walsh and Golins's model (Suchman, 1985b, pp. 3-5).

There are indications that this surprising omission of service from Walsh and Golins's model is at least in part attributable to a view of the self-concept as determinant of behaviour.[7] For Walsh and Golins's focus on enhancing participant self-perception, i.e., on promoting individual feelings of confidence and self-worth,[8] makes most sense if self-concept is assumed to play a determining role. There are also indications that this emphasis upon altering "the meaning and direction of experience" is accompanied by an individualistic bias. No mention is made in Walsh and Golin's model of the Outward Bound process of the necessity of addressing the social, political, and economic dimensions of the participants' personal and interpersonal problems. For example, Walsh and Golins illustrate their conceptualization of the Outward Bound process with reference to a course for incarcerated males. They recognized that the problems which lead to incarceration are often associated with "debilitating socio-economic situations" (Walsh & Golins, p. 25). However, there is no indication that the course was designed to increase awareness of ways of, or even the necessity of, changing these situations. Change was directed at participant self-perception, with the hope "an Outward Bound experience will impel the participant to subsequently extricate himself out of debilitating situations or avoid them" (Walsh & Golins, p. 25).

The intent here is by no means to minimize the importance of therapeutic and educational efforts to enhance self-concept, through mastery experiences or otherwise. Nor is the intent to deny the usefulness of Walsh and Golins's model. Any model, by virtue of its limited intent, will tend to direct attention to some areas, and neglect others. The danger is when any *one* model or perspective is accepted as the only correct one. The danger represented by Walsh and Golins's model, then, is *to the extent it is accepted as the definitive statement of Outward Bound objectives and methods, Outward Bound courses will be designed exclusively to promote individual mastery experiences, with a corresponding neglect of broader interpersonal and social objectives.*

Outward Bound and the Individualistic Bias

In the light of the above, it is some cause for concern that (contrary to the authors's intentions) the Walsh and Golins model is often presented, without qualification, as *the* definitive statement of the Outward Bound process. In a history of the Colorado Outward Bound School James states:

> The importance of this abstract model in the history of Outward Bound should not be underestimated. By the end of the decade, for instance, the front section of the instructor's manual followed three lines of reasoning to summarize the business of the school: a historical introduction drawing upon the ideas of Kurt Hahn, a list of behavioural objectives and course components, and the Walsh-Golins model describing the learning process of Outward Bound. That the third dimension was as vital to the school as the first two was evident from the extensive use of the model in years to come, both within Outward Bound and also in numerous other programs and publications. (James, 1980a, p. 118)

Even today, if you look up "Outward Bound process" in an Outward Bound Instructor Manual or Handbook, you will find Walsh and Golins's summary of their model, in more or less its original form.[9] No mention is made of Walsh and Golin's warning that the model is but an initial exploration, in need of further elaboration and development. Indeed, their summary is generally reproduced without any acknowledgment of their authorship.

At the same time, there are indications that Outward Bound's espoused commitment to promoting compassion through service has not been matched at the level of practice in North American Schools. Suchman, in her critique of Walsh and Golins's paper, sees their omission of the service component as an "accurate reflection of the declining emphasis on community in American Outward Bound schools today":

> Although a watered-down version exists in the American schools in the form of first-aid training and token "service projects", these components remain a small portion--as opposed to constituting the central theme--of the overall program. Service's low priority is further exemplified by its tendency to be the first activity omitted from a tight course schedule. (Suchman, 1985b, p. 5)

Miner and Boldt, at the end of their reflection on Outward Bound's adaptation to North America, agree "with Joe Nold and others who have expressed the opinion that the service commitment of Outward Bound has not yet been carried out as fully or fruitfully as it should be" (p. 351).

Finally, there are indications that, both within and without the community, Outward Bound is perceived as simply promoting personal growth (e.g., Borstelmann, 1983, pp. 34-35; Katz & Kolb, 1972, p. 159). Indeed, personal growth through enhanced self-concept or self-esteem is often presented as the foremost objective and outcome of participation in an Outward Bound (or similar) program (COBS, p. 6; Conrad & Hedin, 1979, pp. 43-44; Kesselheim, 1979, p. 43; cf. McAvoy, 1980, p. 117; and Rhudy, 1980, p. 140). That Outward Bound's mission goes far beyond merely promoting feelings

of self-worth, or developing resources for effective problem solving, seems well on the way to being forgotten.

It could be argued that Outward Bound's shift in emphasis from promoting compassion to enhancing self-concept has little to do with adopting Walsh and Golins's or any other model--it is simply an accommodation of current social priorities. It could be pointed out, for instance, that Outward Bound in North America, more than in Hahn's day, relies for its revenue on participant tuition. In order to survive, therefore, Outward Bound must offer courses people are willing to pay for. And the people willing and able to pay are not looking for compassion, but for such things as excitement and increased self-confidence (James, 1978, pp. 10-11).

It could also be argued that the focus upon individual concerns, and the corresponding neglect of social issues, plays an ideological function, in the sense of supporting the status quo (James, 1980a, pp. 68-69). For example, taking disadvantaged youth into the wilderness to enhance their self-esteem could be seen as soothing the consciences of the privileged, without threatening the social, economic, and political relationships which maintain their status. Whatever truth there may be in these arguments, it remains that *if language and models are adopted which reflect assumptions incompatible with Outward Bound values, they will tend to undermine commitment to those values, regardless of the reason they were originally adopted.*

Walsh and Golins's model is a case in point. Regardless of why it has come to be accepted as *the* Outward Bound process, to the extent it is unquestioned, it will perpetuate its individualistic bias. First, by omitting the service component of Outward Bound, the model perpetuates the declining emphasis on service at the level of practice. Second, by suggesting that all problems can be addressed on the personal or interpersonal level, by altering behaviour through altering perception, it legitimates the neglect of social, political, and economic dimensions of personal and interpersonal problems. Third, by equating Outward Bound with a process--a method which can be adapted to various objectives--Walsh and Golin's model makes it easier to forget Outward Bound is also a tradition with a specific moral and social mission (James, 1980a, pp. 68-69).

Outward Bound: Still "at the Crossroads"

Those who have read Thomas James's (1978) *Outward Bound at the Crossroads* will hear echoes of his concerns in this analysis. For James, the "pitfalls" which threaten Outward Bound's pursuit of its mission are the pressure of economic needs, and the seduction of economic stability, which could lead Outward Bound to market an impoverished but palatable version of its vision. He suggested that Outward Bound is vulnerable to such pressures because it had never articulated the "radically humane view of human beings" which is the foundation of its enterprise. Moreover, he worried that Outward Bound, like other aging institutions, might lack the youthful energy necessary to carry out the implications of its radical vision. He concludes:

> I believe that the organization needs to do a better job of telling its story to the world, and of building all its programs to reflect the deepest sources of its inspiration, which are what give the story meaning and power. If Outward Bound does not do this it will survive, I suspect, and it may even prosper; but the exigences of the world will impose on it a lesser vision, a more limited conception of the person to be educated. It is a subtle difference, hardly noticeable at first, but I have no doubt that a disintegration along these lines would be irreversible. In the absence of a compelling vision, there will be plenty of financial crises and marketing opportunities to propel the organization into a future where it might call itself Outward Bound but in fact bear little resemblance to the original inspiration.

Yet in the final analysis, James's prospectus was not without hope:

> For what it is worth, my conclusion is that Outward Bound is based upon a radically humane view of human beings, one which is utterly discouraged by the massive institutional and mechanized world around us, but which at the same time is necessary to its survival. It takes courage to advocate this view in the face of circumstances that offer greater rewards for sidestepping the issue. But I think such courage is what Outward Bound is all about. It distresses me to think that an organization so fundamentally good and hopeful as Outward Bound could, in time, grow old and become comfortable, that it could become self-satisfied enough to forget the revolutionary fervour of its youth--the pattern is a classic one, largely unavoidable both in persons and in organizations. But the closer I get to Outward Bound and the people who believe in it, the more certain I become that the sources of inspiration have not dried up by any means. There is plenty of work to do, but there is no shortage of the fire of idealism needed to accomplish it.

In sum: the intent in the preceding three chapters was to illustrate (a) how mechanistic assumptions on human nature and the world imply educational priorities that are inconsistent with Outward Bound traditional values, and (b) how Outward Bound values are impossible or difficult to express in languages and models which reflect those assumptions. Chapter Three indicated how behaviourism's view of individuals as passive and predetermined undermines Outward Bound's commitment to developing self-reliance; Chapter Four how the focus on reasoning in Kohlberg's model of moral development undermines Outward Bound's commitment to providing value-forming experiences; and Chapter Five how the view of self-concept as determinant of behaviour undermines Outward Bound's commitment to promoting compassion through service. Examinations of three attempts to conceptualize some aspect of Outward Bound illustrated how the de-emphasis or omission of traditional values when articulating educational objectives and methods undermines commitment to them at the level of practice.

The analyses of the positivistic, rationalistic, and individualistic biases support James's concern that Outward Bound's "radically humane" view of human nature is "utterly discouraged by the massive institutional and mechanized world". The illustrations of the consequences of uncritical adoption of psychological language and models provides specific examples of how the encounter with mainstream pressures might impose "a lesser vision, a more limited conception of the person to be educated". It also underlines that today, as much as when James expressed his concerns, Outward Bound needs to clearly articulate the views on human nature and the world. For it is these which provide a coherent context for its commitment to the core values of its tradition. Providing recommendations concerning how Outward Bound might tell its story to the world *in its own terms* is the task of the following and final chapter.

Notes

[1] The summary is my own synthesis of various sources. For convenience's sake, references to support my summary are principally to Combs, Avila, & Purkey, 1978, a recent attempt to set forth systematically humanistic psychology's operating assumptions (p. vii).

[2] This point has been made by many authors, e.g., Kolesnick, pp. 80-81. For a more detailed and sympathetic account of behaviourism's view of the self, see Blackman, 1980.

[3] The biological underpinning of humanistic psychology's view of the self is exemplified in the persistent use of the metaphor of healthy physical growth and development to describe educational and therapeutic methods and objectives, e.g., Combs, Avila, & Purkey, pp. 38, 43, 48.

[4] I am indebted to Mary O'Brien of the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education for this notion of an individualistic bias. In an address to the Queen's University community in February, 1985, she argued that today's medical system tends to treat health problems with essentially environmental causes as individual problems, resolvable on the individual level, attributable to individual failings, and

thus, when they persist, justly a source of individual guilt. In her view, many such health problems are essentially political and economic problems, in that the unhealthy environment was caused, and persists, as the direct outcome of political and economic priorities.

[5] For a discussion of the unfortunate consequences and ideological function of focus on personal growth, and corresponding neglect of social, economic, and political issues, see Schur, 1976.

[6] Walsh & Golins suggest that the specific activities of various Outward Bound programs, e.g., the expedition, solo, and marathon, were deduced from "the principles of the Outward Bound process" (p. 1). I suspect it is historically more accurate that variations on the Standard course format were introduced for reasons having little or nothing to do with any conceptualization of the process, and became part of the tradition when they produced pleasing, if sometimes surprising, results. Only subsequently were the common elements of Outward Bound courses abstracted in a conceptual schema. See, for example, Miner & Boldt, pp. 101-103, on how the three-night solo became part of the Outward Bound tradition.

[7] The language and references of the paper indicate that Walsh and Golins borrowed primarily from John Dewey, but also made use of a variety of current conceptual frameworks, notably Bloom's Taxonomy of Educational Objectives and Rollo May on anxiety (Walsh & Golins, especially pp. 3, 7, 10, 13).

[8] Walsh and Golins state that success in achieving the essential objective of the Outward Bound course--i.e., the "reorganization of the meaning and direction of experience"--is "most often measured by psychological instruments that ascertain changes in concepts, such as, self-awareness, self-esteem, self-responsibility and acceptance of others" (p. 12).

[9] In two handbooks, at least (COBWS, 1984, pp. 26-27; NCOBS, 1980, p. 26-27) the outcome of participation in the Outward Bound process is presented not as the reorganization of the meaning and direction of experience, but as *enhanced self-concept*. The COBS Instructor's Manual expands the summary slightly to include suggestions as to how a sense of social responsibility might be encouraged (pp. 7-8).

Chapter Six

A Call to Reflection and Action

The intent of this chapter is to offer suggestions concerning how Outward Bound might strengthen its commitment to its traditional values. This intent reflects three beliefs: that widespread appreciation of such values as self-reliance and compassion is as necessary and important as ever;[1] that Outward Bound tradition represents a unique and valuable source of expertise on how to promote an appreciation of such values, and that commitment to its core values is essential to the healthy growth and development of Outward Bound tradition. The suggestions will be presented in three sections, corresponding to three related tasks which are crucial (I believe) to Outward Bound's educational mission. These tasks are (a) to provide sound foundations for its educational objectives and methods, (b) to undertake critical social analysis, and (c) to cultivate the growth and development of its tradition.

The suggestions offered in this chapter will be based upon brief presentations of arguments on a number of complex topics. It will not be possible to do justice to the complexity of the issues, or to draw out the full implications of the positions taken on them, within the scope of one chapter (or even one thesis). The arguments and suggestions should therefore be understood as invitations to further exploration and discussion. To this end, references to more complete analyses of the issues will be cited throughout.

The Need for Sound Foundations.

An educational endeavor such as Outward Bound involves a set of explicit or implicit decisions on what sorts of things are important to learn (and possibly to teach) and what are effective ways of learning (and possibly teaching) them. In this context, then, "sound foundations" refers to a set of good reasons for these decisions. The need for sound foundations is a familiar one to Outward Bound, in that a good part of its efforts to tell its story have been attempts to provide a rationale for its ends and means. The suggestions under this heading thus concern Outward Bound's task of providing good reasons for its educational objectives and methods. The suggestions will be based upon discussion of what constitutes good reasons for choosing particular educational goals, and particular approaches to achieving them.

Educational methods: The validation of theory in practice. Outward Bound has always been convinced that participation in one of its courses usually results in worthwhile experiences. Outward Bound has not been equally certain how to explain *what* those experiences are, *how* course activities and instruction interact to help bring them about, and *how* success or failure in doing so can be evaluated (James, 1980a, p. 38). Consequently, since the mid-seventies, there have been concerted efforts to spell out precisely what the Outward Bound process actually helps participants achieve, and how.

> It became necessary to press beyond the mere recitation of the activity sequence, laced with a few reminders of broad humanistic aims, when describing the programs offered or projects proposed. It became necessary to articulate the purposeful nature of course activities, to spell out exactly what changes the training was designed to produce in the inner life of students, and how the effectiveness of the program might be measured against those desired changes. (James, 1980a, pp. 113-114)

The ongoing efforts to understand the Outward Bound process have been intended to convince the uninitiated that participation can result in lasting benefits, and to determine what is important to conserve in refining old programs and developing new ones. Often, the approach has been to search

for a psychological theory or model which plausibly explains how participation in Outward Bound course activities produces lasting changes in behaviour. Paul Harmon and Gary Templin are the pioneers of this approach: they have been engaged in the search since 1972.[2] It is fitting, therefore, that the summary of the objectives and reasoning behind this approach is in their own words:

> Experiential education is a collection of practices and techniques in search of a comprehensive theory. A theory, in the sense we are using it here, is simply a schema [model] for classifying the components [variables] and interactions [relationships] of a process. A good theory allows an observer to analyze a situation and predict probable outcomes. Without a theory, there is no way of prioritizing and examining the various component techniques to determine which are most effective. Nor is there any rational way to design new programs that build on the strengths and eliminate the weaknesses of existing programs. Indeed, without a theory there is no good way to communicate about one's programs with those who have not experienced the program. Without a theory experiential educators are forced to rely on intuition, testimonials, and field demonstrations. This may work when one is conducting on-the-job training for a new staff member, but it doesn't work well when one is trying to design a new program to be used in a novel situation or when one is applying for grants. And it doesn't satisfy critics who ask, as they always do when funds get tight, "What does experiential education really do?" and "Can you prove that your program really accomplishes anything?".
> Several experiential educators have recognized this problem and have proposed special theories to explain particular aspects of experiential education (Walsh & Golins, 1976; Gager, 1977; Harmon & Templin, 1977). These theories are interesting as far as they go, but they have the distinct disadvantage of isolating experiential education from the broader theories and research findings in education and psychology.
> Ideally, we would like to be able to explain the experiential education process in general, as well as specific programs like Outward Bound, in terms of one of the commonly held theories of psychology or education. By connecting experiential education with academic psychology, for example, we would be able to draw on the relevant academic research to refine our techniques, and to formulate appropriate evaluation strategies. (Harmon & Templin, 1980, p. 43; cf. Kraft, 1985b, p. 15)

Harmon and Templin's search for a comprehensive theory supported by academic research led them to Bandura's "Self-Efficacy Theory", which they describe as a combination of neo-behaviourism and cognitive psychology. They judge Bandura's model to be "the best current theory to use in conceptualizing or evaluating experiential education programs" (p. 42), and "nicely capable of explaining the experiential education process" (p. 44). They support this claim by demonstrating how the activities of an Outward Bound standard course, when mapped onto Bandura's model, can be seen as effective means of producing lasting changes in participant behaviour, through altering their "efficacy expectations".

It could well be questioned whether Bandura's model is consistent with Outward Bound practice, in that it appears to presuppose a deterministic perspective on human behaviour. However, the intent in citing Harmon and Templin's attempt to use Bandura's model is not to question the model's assumptions. Nor is the intent to deny the utility of theory in understanding, talking about, and improving Outward Bound courses. Rather, the intent is to dispute two assumptions underlying Harmon and Templin's whole approach, namely (a) that it is possible to discover or formulate one theory to adequately portray the components and interactions of an Outward Bound course, and (b) Outward Bound practice must be validated by how well it fits such a theory, which in turn is validated by "academic research".

This notion that educational practice should be validated by, and conform to, the theories of academic research is not unique to Harmon and Templin. On the contrary, their approach reflects the

view of the proper relationship of theory to practice that dominates mainstream education (Schon, pp. 21-29). Moreover, there are indications that Outward Bound is accepting (or at least acquiescing to) this view. In his recommendations concerning Outward Bound's Mainstream Policy, for example, Raynolds (1986, p. 4) states: "We must validate what we do by academically accredited research on the effects of the Outward Bound experience" (see also Wade & Bacon, 1986, p. 5).

As Schon (pp. 30-37) points out, this perspective on the relation of theory to practice presupposes a positivistic view of knowledge. The desire to shape educational practice to conform to a model of the components and interactions of an abstract educational process also seems to presuppose a mechanistic view of the world. For the search for more and more comprehensive theories makes most sense on the assumption that all events can be explained in terms of universal and invariant laws.

The limitations of this view of the relation of theory to practice have been examined elsewhere, and need not be reproduced here (Schon, pp. 37-49). What is important is the counter-position that (a) the components and interactions of educational practice--an Outward Bound course, for example--are too complex, equivocal, and indeterminate to be adequately portrayed in any one model or theory;[3] (b) the ability of experienced teachers or instructors to manage this complexity is embedded in their practice, and resists theoretical formulation; and (c) theories or models are therefore properly validated *through practice*.

In this view, models of the significant components and interactions of an Outward Bound course are indispensable for discussing old programs and designing new ones. The validity of those models is not established through "academic research", however, but by the extent to which the insights they afford into past practice serve to improve subsequent efforts. Furthermore, *the people best qualified to judge what constitutes effective education are experienced practitioners*.[4]

An appreciation of the expertise of seasoned instructors, and a view that theory must bow to practice, is not foreign to Outward Bound tradition. It seems implicit, for example, in the practice of conferring instructor status only on those who (regardless of their academic qualifications) have trained with more experienced colleagues in the field. Hahn explicitly advised appreciation of the wisdom of accumulated experience, and was leery of any approach valued simply for its originality (Richards, p. 121).

The view that theory must be validated in practice does not entail a rejection of innovation, or a lack of appreciation for the role of theory in designing new programs. Rather, it believes the test of any innovation is whether it actually works in the field, irrespective of how well it looks on paper. The suggestion here, then, is that Outward Bound would benefit from working out the implications of the view that the real experts on the validity of a given theory for designing and evaluating course activities, are seasoned instructors.[5]

In the fore-going discussion, it has been assumed that the question of the relative effectiveness of different educational methods is an empirical one. In other words, the "good reasons" for choosing a particular approach to education is evidence that it works best. As the discussion above suggests, evaluating the relative effectiveness of different methods is no straightforward matter. Even granted reliable evaluation, however, justifying educational methods in terms of their relative ability to further educational objectives presupposes the appropriateness of those objectives. This raises the question: "What constitutes good reasons for choosing particular educational objectives?".

Educational objectives: The primacy of self-validating experiences. Choosing appropriate educational objectives involves consideration of matters of fact. It would seem unreasonable, for example, to propose goals that were infeasible due to the lack of some essential resource. Choosing appropriate educational objectives also involves judgments of value. For unless education is to work

at cross purposes, its objectives must cohere with other priorities, which in turn imply beliefs about what is most important or worthwhile. Thus the question "What constitutes good reasons for choosing particular educational objectives?" raises the related, more general question "What constitutes good reasons for preferring one set of values over others?".

It has been affirmed that an individual's or culture's world view is closely related to their beliefs about what is intrinsically worthwhile, and their corresponding priorities for living. It might be argued that questions of value could (or should) therefore be reduced to questions of fact, in that it is reasonable to derive educational priorities from knowledge of the world in general and human nature in particular. This position seems implicit in deriving the educational objective of enhancing self-concept from the view that human motivation towards self-actualization is innate. It also seems implicit in justifying the endeavor to accelerate cognitive or moral development on the grounds that such development is "natural". More generally, it could be argued that if the world is created for a Divine Purpose (for example), then it makes sense that learning (and teaching) about what that Purpose is, and how to help fulfill it, ranks high on the educational priority list. Alternatively (for example), if the world is reducible to the predetermined interaction of particles according to universal and invariant laws, then emphasizing learning (and teaching) about how to discover and apply those laws seems only reasonable.

There are at least three objections, however, to arguing from knowledge claims to value claims. First, it is not clear how knowledge of the world is possible without presupposing commitments to certain priorities, given that what is known about the world reflects decisions on how to study it. In other words, it seems that what is believed about the world is shaped by beliefs about what is intrinsically worthwhile, as well as the reverse (Davis, 1979, p. 2).

Second, even granted the possibility of value-free knowledge, it is possible that such knowledge would allow mutually-exclusive, but equally reasonable conclusions about what is important or worthwhile. For example, the claim that every person has innate potential allows opposing views of "the good life", if that potential is indeterminate. Consider the implications of affirming that every person has innate potential for self-actualization, and that self-actualization involves freely choosing what potential will and will not be actualized.

Third, even granted the possibility of value-free knowledge with specific ethical implications, it does not follow that there is any obligation to act consistently with that knowledge. In other words, propositions about "what is" do not logically entail conclusions about "what ought to be".

As noted, to the extent that science (positivistically conceived) is accepted as the only source of reliable information about the world, then knowledge of values is denied. It is fair to say that there is no widely accepted rational basis in modern western culture for justifying preference of particular sets of values, and that this is at least partly due to the identification of rationality with logic and science (Horkheimer, cited in Davis, 1979, pp. 8-9; MacIntyre, pp. 82-83). It is therefore not surprising that Outward Bound has been cautioned "not to impose its philosophy on the schools with which it is associating" (James, 1980a, p. 68). For in the absence of agreement on what constitutes good reasons for value judgments, efforts to promote appreciation of one set of values can be seen as disguised attempts to impose the interests of one individual or group on another (MacIntyre, pp. 23-24).

The essential argument in this context is that the distinctive and irreducible component of a judgment of value is an apprehension of value. Here, "an apprehension of value" refers to a self-validating experience of something as intrinsically worthwhile. By a judgment of value, then, is meant a judgment that something is important or worthwhile because it either is, or contributes towards something else that is, intrinsically worthwhile. A self-validating experience of something as intrinsically worthwhile is an experience which satisfies the desire for knowledge of what is intrinsically

worthwhile--knowledge of "the good". As such, it is understood to be an encounter with, and apprehension of, something that is *truly* intrinsically worthwhile.[6]

The self-validating apprehension of value is not reducible to any other kind of experience. (This leaves open the question of whether there are other kinds of self-validating experiences.) It follows that the only way to appreciate what is meant by "a self-validating experience of something as intrinsically worthwhile", is to have one. As an irreducibly qualitative experience, the apprehension of value is inexpressible in quantitative terms. Given that the meaning of the experience is precisely its quality, *the meaning of a particular apprehension of value--for example, a self-validating experience of compassion as intrinsically worthwhile-- can only be communicated by somehow evoking an equivalent experience.*[7]

Apprehensions of value are distinct from the content of subsequent reflection on and evaluation of them. They are thus distinct from judgments of value, which decide what the implications of the experiences are for subsequent action. It follows that judgments of value may not represent knowledge of what is truly worthwhile for either or both of two reasons. In the first case, the judgment is based upon some other experience which is mistaken for an apprehension of value. In the second case, the implications for decision and action of an authentic apprehension of value are distorted by the intrusion of other priorities than the intention of (and desire for) knowledge of what is intrinsically worthwhile.[8]

It follows from the above that knowledge of what is intrinsically worthwhile derives not simply from apprehensions of value, but requires acting on their implications, and revising prior judgments in the light of subsequent experience. For on the assumption that authentic apprehensions of value are the result of encounter with something that is truly worthwhile, then correctly judging their implications for action will engender further self-validating experiences. The obverse of this is that persistent unfulfillment of the desire for what is intrinsically worthwhile is an indication that priorities are somehow out of touch.[9]

To summarize: Knowledge of what is truly worthwhile is the content of true judgments of value. True judgments of value are correct assessments of the implications of authentic apprehensions of value. Apprehensions of value are self-validating experiences, but even so are susceptible to confusion with other experiences. Moreover, assessing their implications can be distorted by any departure from the desire for what is truly wortnwhile. Knowledge of what is truly worthwhile is thus conditional upon living out the implications of judgments of value, and revising priorities according to the presence or absence of further self-validating experiences.

In this context, good reasons for preferring one particular set of values over others would be true judgments that those priorities and beliefs more accurately reflect authentic apprehensions of what is intrinsically worthwhile. Thus disputes over values would derive from incompatible apprehensions of value and/or different assessments of their implications. It follows that one condition of agreement on what is worthwhile, and corresponding priorities, is shared experiences of something(s) as intrinsically worthwhile.[10] For example, genuine commitment to resolving differences of belief through compromise would presuppose agreement that negotiation is preferable to other means of settling disputes.

From this understanding of value, it follows that knowledge of what is intrinsically worthwhile is embodied in the decisions and actions of good people. Good people are those whose judgments of value are based on authentic apprehensions of value and are undistorted by other concerns than the intention of what is intrinsically worthwhile. Apprehensions and judgments of value are tested through an on-going process of acting on their concrete implications. Thus good people become good, in part, through commitment in action to their values.[11]

This understanding of knowledge of value is not inconsistent with Outward Bound tradition. On the contrary, the notion of a self-validating experience of something as intrinsically worthwhile seems implicit in the belief in the efficacy of value-forming experiences. It offers a plausible elaboration of Outward Bound's belief that "one reveres life for having experienced it in real, dramatic terms" COBWS, 1984, p. 6). It is consistent with the commitment to promoting compassion through rescue service, which reflects a belief that "the experience of helping a fellow man in danger, or even of training in a realistic manner to be ready to give this help, tends to change the balance of power in a youth's inner life with the result that compassion can become the master motive" (Hahn, cited in James, 1980a, pp. 25-26). Similarly, the notion of an intention of (and desire for) what is intrinsically worthwhile is consistent with Hahn's beliefs that appealing to the desire to be helpful "hardly ever fails" (James, 1980a, p. 25); and that inspiration "evaporates" unless translated into action (James, 1980a, p. 25). Finally, the notion of learning about the good by acting on the implications of apprehensions of values is consistent with the interrelation of compassion and self-reliance in Outward Bound tradition. For in that tradition, self-reliance is valued precisely as the strength of character require to act on what is perceived to be right, even in the face of cynicism or oppression (James, 1985, p. 41).

In the light of the above, it seems reasonable to suggest that what constitutes good reasons for educational objectives is true judgments that achievement (or perhaps even pursuit) of those objectives contributes directly or indirectly to something that is intrinsically worthwhile. Justification of educational objectives would thus ultimately be in terms of apprehensions of value in self-validating experiences.

To recapitulate: Outward Bound's educational mission is to promote an appreciation of the core values of its tradition. Outward Bound tradition thus represents a commitment to certain educational objectives and methods. Part of Outward Bound's efforts to tell its story to the world have been attempts to provide good reasons for this commitment. It has been argued here that what constitutes good reasons for choosing particular educational methods is true claims of their effectiveness, and that experienced practitioners are best qualified to evaluate the relative effectiveness of different methods. It has also been argued that what constitutes good reasons for choosing particular educational objectives are true judgments that they contribute, directly or indirectly, to something that is intrinsically worthwhile, and that such judgments are based on apprehensions of value in self-validating experiences, tested through acting on their implications.

Outward Bound tradition represents the accumulated wisdom of many experienced practitioners, and many individuals acting on a commitment to what they judge to be truly worthwhile. Accordingly, in the light of the above discussion, it seems reasonable to suggest that Outward Bound will strengthen its commitment to its traditional values, and thereby enhance its educational mission, by telling its story in its own terms. In other words, it is recommended that Outward Bound's approach to providing good reasons for its educational objectives and methods be to make explicit the insights, expertise, and apprehensions of value that are implicit in its tradition. It is also recommended that the approach to refining old programs and designing new ones be to develop the implications of its traditional wisdom--particularly, its "deeply humanistic and holistic view of man" (James, 1980a, p. 37)--for subsequent practice.

It would not do to underestimate the difficulty of this task. For it would involve addressing the difficult question of how to communicate something of Outward Bound's inspiration by evoking the appropriate apprehensions of value. Similarly, it would require some way of capturing the expertise of seasoned practitioners before they leave the "front lines". In order to offer some small contribution to this task, and to provide an illustration of the recommendation, the remainder of this section will make explicit a judgment of value implicit in Outward Bound tradition, and suggest directions for the development of its implications.

The affirmation of community and its implications for Outward Bound. Implicit in the Outward Bound traditional value of promoting compassion through service is an affirmation of community (James, 1985, pp. 41-44). By "an affirmation of community"is meant a *belief* that the well-being of individuals is inseparable from the well-being of the social group which they comprise (and the reverse), and a corresponding *commitment* to promoting an appreciation of this belief, through providing direct experience of community participation. According to Thomas James, an eminent historian of Outward Bound tradition, the experience of community is

> the most important lesson of an Outward Bound course, the lesson without which personal development is of questionable value. In a small group, and in a "healthy pasture" away from the degenerate ways of the world, the individual student comes to grips with what must be done to create a just society. Here is the true, unadvertised peak climb of an Outward Bound course. An inner transformation precedes outward conquest. This is why Hahn placed compassion above all other values of Outward Bound, for it among all emotions is capable of reconciling individual strength with collective need. (James, 1985, p. 41; cf. Rohrs, 1970, p. 132)

A similar point was made in the discussion of Outward Bound and moral education: promoting compassion through service is consistent with a relational or intersubjective view of human nature. In this view, the experience of others as subjects, as originators of value through deliberate decision and action, grounds respect for individual liberty and an imperative to relate to others as ends-in-themselves.[12] The essential point here is that, as compassion rises from the self-validating experience of the intrinsic worth of the human subject, *the affirmation of community originates in a self-fulfilling experience that relating to others as ends-in-themselves is intrinsically worthwhile* (cf. MacIntyre, p. 46). From this perspective, the belief that the well-being of individuals is inseparable from that of their social group (and the reverse) is not only based on a recognition of human interdependence--on recognition of the instrumental value of co-operation. It is also based on a recognition that fulfillment of the desire for knowledge of what is truly worthwhile entails living out the implications for social relationships of the above apprehensions of value. The ideal of community, then, is of a group bound by a shared agreement that respect for individual autonomy, and relating to others as ends-in-themselves, are both intrinsically worthwhile.[13]

The affirmation of community has important implications. For instance, commitment to respect for individual autonomy, and to treating others as ends-in-themselves, implies a commitment to arriving at group decisions through genuine agreement or consensus (MacIntyre, pp. 23-24). Agreement is genuine only if equal participation in the decision making is available, and is unconstrained by any appeal to authority, or by any threat of force, whether implicit or explicit, intentional or otherwise. Thus affirmation of community implies commitment to social relationships "free from domination, organized on a principle of equality, and embodying the ideals of truth, freedom. and justice".[14]

Furthermore, the affirmation of community is unconditionally opposed to any form of false consensus, any attempt to suppress conflict in the name of agreement. It is opposed, for to suppress differences or conflicting perspectives would violate respect for individual liberty. However, the existence of conflict is tempered by the recognition of interdependence, which encourages constructive conflict resolution. Not surprisingly, then, in Outward Bound tradition conflict has been seen as both inevitable and healthy. Conflict is inevitable, because of human imperfection, and because human backgrounds and perspectives diverge. It is healthy, because through interaction among diverse perspectives "we can avoid the complacent but narrow successes and reach after elusive but much broader achievement".[15]

The affirmation of community is idealistic--some might say unrealistically so. Yet the heart of Outward Bound tradition is commitment to its ideals (James, 1985, p. 44). The affirmation of ideals,

moreover, is by no means incompatible with an ability to deal with harsh practicalities (e.g., Brereton, pp. 47, 52-53). Ideals offer no guarantee that the way will be short, or the road easy, but they do offer direction and some clues on how to proceed. What, then, are the implications of the affirmation of community for Outward Bound's business of conceiving, designing, instructing, staffing, administering, and evaluating its courses?

First, concerning how Outward Bound conceives, designs, and instructs its courses: the affirmation of community involves a commitment to promoting an appreciation of community in participants. Appreciation of community involves the self-validating experiences that human subjects, and relating to them as ends-in-themselves, are both intrinsically worthwhile. On this view, then, Outward Bound's mission of developing "respect for self, caring for others, and responsibility to the community" involves designing and instructing courses to provide such apprehensions of value. Similarly, it seems reasonable to suggest that the objective of promoting sensitivity to the environment requires providing favourable conditions for experiencing the intrinsic worth of the natural world.

Walsh and Golins's model of the Outward Bound process can be understood as an attempt to work out the implications for how Outward Bound conceives, designs, and instructs its courses of the intent to provide one particular self-validating experience: mastery of problem-solving tasks. The suggestion here, then, is that Outward Bound would benefit from analogous attempts to develop the implications for its courses of commitment to promoting self-validating experiences of physical fitness, the care and patience characteristic of craftsmanship, self-reliance, compassion, and sensitivity to ecological concerns.

Second, concerning the staffing and administration of courses: Outward Bound recognizes that, in order to effectively promote an appreciation of its traditional values, it is not enough to just provide activities conducive to the occurrence of certain experiences. It is also necessary that instructors and the organization itself embody those values in day to day interaction. Both function as models for participants, and actions speak louder than words (James, 1980a, p. 88). Hence Outward Bound's dedication to service not only for, but also to, its participants and the wider community, evidenced in the commitment to provide scholarships for one third of course participants (James, 1980a, p. 24).

This exigence for consistency between what is practiced and what is preached at Outward Bound implies that Outward Bound Schools should aspire to the ideal of community. This suggests a sensitivity in hiring staff to their level of commitment to, and prior experience in, fostering communities. For example, experience in facilitating consensus decision-making would count as much or more in hiring and evaluating staff as would competence in "harder" skills. Furthermore, if appreciation of community in staff is to be maintained, then relationships at and between all levels of the Schools's decision-making hierarchies need to balance respect for individual autonomy with recognition of interdependence. Again, this is not unfamiliar to Outward Bound, for its expansion has led (not without conflict) to attempts to balance the charismatic dimension of Outward Bound leadership with more formal systems of administration and management.[16]

Third, concerning the evaluation of Outward Bound courses: research in mainstream education and the social sciences is dominated by the "positivistic" paradigm of research.[17] In such research, educational problems are addressed by attempts to formulate comprehensive models of the cause and effect relationships governing educational events, in order to predict and control them (Power, pp. 579-580; Torbert, 1981, pp. 142-143). It is some indication of the prevalence of quantitative approaches that the majority of attempts to validate Outward Bound methods in "academically accredited" research--principally theses and dissertations undertaken to complete requirements for an academic degree--have adopted quantitative methods (Burton, 1981; Ewert, 1982).

Reviews of quantitative attempts to evaluate Outward Bound courses are unanimous on two points. First, they suggest that research to date has done little to improve Outward Bound courses. This is because the studies have generally been simple, pre-test/post-test "global-outcome" comparisons, which at best indicate *that* something has happened, not *how*. Second, they conclude that what is needed is *not* more global outcome studies, but efforts to examine the complex interrelationships of various course components (Burton, 1981, pp. 73-74; Ewert, 1982, p. 27; Shore, 1977, p. 3; Warner, 1984, p. 41).

One may question whether quantitative research methods are appropriate to evaluate educational programs which have a high number of complex, interrelated, and uncontrollable variables. Indeed, that such studies continue to be done in the face of mounting criticism has raised the suspicion that they are undertaken primarily to attain academic status (or merely to survive in a publish or perish environment) and to supply data useful in soliciting funds from number-minded individuals (Eisner, 1983; Warner, 1984). Both of these objectives may be justifiable, even laudable, but they contribute little to improving Outward Bound programs.

The relative merits of different methods for studying something so complex as an Outward Bound course is too large a debate to enter into here. Moreover, the usefulness of quantitative methods in addressing some educational questions is not under dispute. The point in underlining the weaknesses of quantitative studies of Outward Bound is to demonstrate the need for other approaches. For it seems clear that the continuing preference for quantitative approaches in evaluating Outward Bound makes sense more as a move to gain legitimacy through adherence to a dominant paradigm, than as an approach supported by sound theory or concrete results.[18]

Research in the positivistic paradigm is committed, in the name of objectivity, to relegating the objects of its attention to passive roles. As Torbert remarks, this is because it is "based on a model of reality that emphasizes unilateral control for gaining information from, or having effects on, others" (Torbert, p. 142). This is clearly inconsistent with an affirmation of respect for individual autonomy and a belief in treating people as ends-in-themselves. The suggestion here, then, is that Outward Bound develop evaluation methods drawn from a research paradigm "in which the subject is also co-researcher, being actively and openly involved on the inquiry side of the research" (Heron, 1981, p. 20).[19]

To recapitulate: It has been argued that implicit in Outward Bound tradition is an affirmation of community. Directions have been suggested for developing the implications of this ideal for how Outward Bound conceives, designs, instructs, staffs, administers, and evaluates its courses.

The Need for Critical Social Analysis

In this context, "social analysis" refers broadly to examination of the forms or structures of human interactions, and their underlying norms. It includes analysis of interactions among people fulfilling roles defined by formal social institutions: bankers and clients, doctors and patients, teachers and students. It also includes analysis of relationships less formally defined, but still socially regulated, for example, those between friends or lovers. Critical social analysis asks such questions as "Why these structures?", "Are there good reasons for these norms?", and "Whose needs do they serve?".

The need for critical social analysis in the Outward Bound context stems first from recognition that, whatever the precise nature of educational objectives, it is important to question whether there are serious obstacles to their achievement, and if so, to identify them. Granted this view, it follows that part of Outward Bound's educational mission is to identify any social norms presenting serious obstacles to promoting appreciation of its traditional values.

Recognition of the need for critical social analysis is also implicit in Outward bound tradition. For just as Outward Bound grew not only from Hahn's values, but also from his critical view of the social milieu, so the on-going development of that tradition requires not only an affirmation of its core values, but also a critical perspective on contemporary society.

The criteria to be used in critical social analysis are also implicit in Outward Bound tradition: anything incompatible with its core values presents a serious obstacle to its educational mission. Thus implicit in Outward Bound's mission is a task of identifying what in contemporary society, if anything, is incompatible with promoting fitness, care, creativity, self-reliance, compassion, and sensitivity to the environment. Similarly, given the affirmation of community, and given that affirmation of community implies commitment to social interaction based on genuine agreement, Outward Bound's mission also entails asking what, if anything, is incompatible with promoting social relations based on truth, freedom, and justice.[20]

The essential point here is that Outward Bound's educational mission implies a commitment to working towards just social relations, and that it therefore requires critical analysis of existing social norms. Three further points will be made, however, to suggest certain broad topics for such an analysis, which are particularly relevant (I believe) to Outward Bound's mission.

First, it has been noted that the priority of prediction and control, and a related instrumental attitude towards the environment (which includes people), is inherent in the scientific enterprise, when positivistically conceived. It is no new argument that modern Western culture is dominated by the priorities of maximizing scientific and technological knowledge, and using that knowledge to bring more and more natural and social environments under control (Fay, pp. 42-48). It is also no new argument that scientific and technological expertise have been used by some groups to dominate others (Fay, 57-64). Mainstream education has been implicated as one of the means by which such domination is perpetuated (for example, Apple, 1977). While these analyses of social relations in mainstream education are themselves not to be accepted uncritically, it seems reasonable to heed their warning against wholehearted embrace of mainstream perspectives and practices. To cite one example only: the available models of organizational management and educational administration are generally borrowed from the corporate context. However, to run schools like businesses risks reinforcing the view of student as "product", and the consequent compromise of their autonomy.

Second, as well as identifying obstacles to promoting appreciation of Outward Bound traditional values, critical analysis will be more effective if it also investigates their origins. For without at least some understanding of the origins of social problems, proposed solutions may address the symptoms only. If Hahn was correct that the "tempting declines" of a "diseased society" present obstacles to appreciation of self-reliance and compassion, for example, then the source of the malaise must be identified. There may be other ways of working as a "countervailing force" than removing youth to "healthy pastures" for inoculation.[21] Similarly, if expansion of the scientific enterprise to encompass all aspects of social and personal relations presents obstacles to promoting respect for individual autonomy, then Outward Bound's mission entails questioning what drives the preoccupation with prediction and control.

Finally, it is worth recalling that the objective of enhancing self-concept assumes that individual decision and behaviour is affected--sometimes in destructive ways--by assumptions about personal potential and capabilities. Is it not likely that this is true collectively as well? If so, then perpetuation of limited world views would have equally harmful consequences, and be worthy of at least equal attention, as restrictive self-concepts.[22] The Outward Bound approach to challenging individual assumptions which limit behaviour is by modelling alternatives, and by creating conditions favourable to experimentation with new possibilities. If social relations and institutions are similarly constrained by needlessly limited presuppositions about what is humanly possible, then Outward Bound would

provide real service in demonstrating what people are capable of, not only as individuals and in small groups, but also in larger collectivities.

The Need for a Healthy Tradition.

It might seem that, in suggesting that Outward Bound traditional values provide the criteria for critical social analysis, Outward Bound tradition is exempted from criticism. On the contrary, critical appropriation of its values and beliefs is necessary to the healthy growth and development of Outward Bound's tradition.

First, because human meaning is social and historical, and therefore there is no access to truth or value outside of a historical tradition (MacIntyre, pp. 146, 221). Second, traditions are embedded in broader social and historical contexts, and access to value and truth is limited by the contradictions within those contexts, which restrict the available meanings (Davis, 1973, p. 155-156). For example, it has been suggested that apprehensions of value are distinct from subsequent reflection. How apprehensions of values are interpreted thus depends on what interpretations are possible in a given tradition--that is, on what meanings of "the good" are available in that tradition (Lonergan, 1971, pp. 79-81).

This apparently presents a paradox: how is it possible for individuals to critically appropriate their tradition, if the meanings available in that tradition constrain their interpretations of their apprehensions of value? It is important here to recall that the argument that judgments and apprehensions of value can be corrected through the process of living out their implications, and adjusting priorities according to the consequences. This transcends the paradox, because action may change the social and historical context which previously constrained available meanings.[23]

The dangers of accepting any one perspective as *the* perspective have been illustrated. However, any individual's experience and understanding is limited (Slater, pp. 157-158). It follows that more complete access to value and truth is realized through dialogue aimed at appreciating other perspectives. By dialogue is meant conversation that is regulated by the desire for value and truth, and unconstrained by appeals to authority or threats of force. Given this analysis, it is clear that affirmation and maintenance of communities is a prerequisite to dialogue, to more complete access to value and truth, and thus to critical appropriation of traditions and effective action towards more just social relations (Berstein, 1983, esp. pp. 230-231).

This reinforces the suggestion that Outward Bound's mission entails an affirmation of the ideal of community at the level of practice. First, because it is a prerequisite to the critical appropriation and creative reinterpretation of its tradition. Second, because demonstrating that the ideal of community is approachable, even if imperfectly, would be a significant contribution to its mission of promoting appreciation of its traditional values, and thereby to its goal of working towards a more just and compassionate society.

Limitation of the foundation metaphor. The final point and corresponding suggestion of this section concerns the dangers of speaking of "sound foundations". For to use the foundation metaphor is to evoke the classical philosopher's desire to erect the eternal city of truth on the foundations of indubitable first principles (Toulmin, 1976, pp. 82-89). If there is anything on which philosophers agree, however, it is that the search for certainty has yet to succeed (Bernstein, p. 230). History abounds with examples of the dangers of dogmatism, of conviction that the truth has been discovered or revealed once and for ever. Granted that access to truth and value is bound by social and historical contexts, then even the search for unchanging verities is hazardous. For to imagine it is somehow possible to transcend completely the current concrete situation, is to be more than ever susceptible to its biases and limitations (Davis, 1973, p. 154).

The essential point here, is that Outward Bound tradition is not something that can be "set in stone". Rather, if it is to remain healthy, it must be critically appropriated and creatively reinterpreted by each new generation of the community. For only that which is dead persists without change, what is living persists through renewal.[24] The corresponding suggestion is that, as organizations persist by being hospitable environments for innovative individuals (Gardiner, 1964), so traditions persist when they are open to new forms of expression of, and commitment to, their core values.[25]

A related point is that, as any one individual perspective is limited, so too is that of any one tradition (Slater, pp. 149, 159, 171). Consequently, dialogue is necessary between traditions as well as between individuals within traditions. Thus in questioning the assumptions of other educational endeavors, Outward Bound would benefit from openness to what alternate approaches reveal of its own limitations, and its yet unrealized potential. The specific recommendation here is that Outward Bound, in developing the implications of its traditional values and beliefs for subsequent practice, incorporate the insights of other groups working out alternatives to mechanistic assumptions.

A Concluding Observation and Recommendation.

In the course of the thesis, Outward Bound has been warned to question assumptions that (a) science is the only reliable source of knowledge, (b) what is valuable is what is amenable or conducive to prediction and control, and (c) all problems can be satisfactorily addressed by changing individual behaviour, through altering individual perception. There are good reasons to suggest that these positivistic, rationalistic, and individualistic biases are all dimensions of a masculine bias.[26] There is no doubt that Outward Bound has come a long way from when it was "very much a male chauvinist organization" (Miner & Boldt, p. 287). However, if it is granted that Western institutions and culture are dominated by masculine perspectives, then efforts to foster feminine perspectives are still very much in need, and shall be so for the foreseeable future. Therefore, while Outward Bound should take credit for its moves in right directions, there is no cause for complacency, for feeling that this theme of its story has had a "happy ending" (Miner & Boldt, p. 287).

The corresponding recommendation is threefold. First, that in making explicit the wisdom of its tradition, and in developing the implications for subsequent practice, Outward Bound should ensure that the women of the community, past and present, have a voice. Second, that in undertaking critical social analysis, Outward Bound take heed of feminist critiques. Third and last, that in cultivating the healthy growth and development of its tradition, Outward Bound ask whether it is a hospitable environment for participation of women at all levels of the organization, and if not, what changes might be made to become so.

If I am not for myself, then who will be for me?
If I am only for myself, then who am I?
If not now, when?
Hillel

Notes

[1] Brereton (1970, p. 48) describes Hahn "even in his eighties" as "still impatient that what he calls 'islands of healing' in an inflamed body politic are insufficient to keep pace with an ever more critical decline".

[2] See Harmon & Templin, 1980, p. 43; also James, 1980a, pp. 113-114. Harmon & Templin's 1980 article is a reprint of a paper originally published (and likely commissioned) by the Colorado Outward Bound School. It represents their last published attempt to conceptualize the Outward Bound process.

[3] See Weick, 1979, pp. 35-42, 179-187, for a relevant discussion of equivocality, indeterminism and the implications for social science research.

[4] Some experienced practitioners are more expert than others, but they are generally recognized as such by their peers.

[5] See Schon, pp. 307-325. It is noteworthy that research on teacher thinking is presently working out the implications of recognizing teacher expertise. See Clarke, 1986; Russell, 1985.

[6] See Lonergan, 1971, pp. 34-41, on the notion, intention, apprehension, and judgments of value; also Green, 1973, on judging. Note that the argument from an affirmation of apprehensions of value to an affirmation that somethings are *in fact* intrinsically worthwhile is a transcendental argument, in Green's (1981, p. 335) sense of the term.

[7] See Lonergan's analysis of meaning, 1971, pp. 57-81.

[8] See Lonergan, 1971, pp. 35-40, 53-54, 79-80, on bias and authenticity.

[9] This notion of living committed to values as a self-correcting process (assuming authentic commitment) is elaborated in Vokey, 1980, pp. 182-189, especially in note 53.

[10] See Lonergan, 1971, pp. 237-253, on dialectic and conversion.

[11] For a similar analysis of the irreducible "subjective" nature of knowledge of the good, see Lonergan, 1971, p. 40-41.

[12] According to Walter Kaufmann, in his prologue to Buber's *I and Thou* (1970, pp. 16-17), Kant is more correctly (and more realistically) interpreted as insisting that others be treated as ends-in-themselves *also*.

[13] This view of the ideal of community is compatible with a broader definition of a community as the present form of a shared view of "the good" embodied in a historical tradition. See MacIntyre, pp. 222, 228-229.

[14] For a more complete discussion of the implications of commitment to consensus, see Davis (1976, p. 13) on Habermas.

[15] Brereton, cited in James, 1985, p. 41; cf. MacIntyre, pp. 162-164. See also Brereton, 1970, p. 46, on Hahn's practice of hiring people with perspectives opposing his own, and who would not be "steam-rolled" by his convictions. For a more recent affirmation of the value of different perspectives, see COBWS, 1984, p. 6.

[16] See James, 1980a, pp. 89-94, for an account of one School's search for balance between charisma and control. For more recent discussions of the implications of the affirmation of community for the staffing and administration of Outward Bound courses, see Landry & McNair, 1986; Orr, 1985; Orr, 1986; and Victor, 1986. The commitment to community at the Canadian Outward Bound Wilderness School is manifest in its scheduling courses to leave everyone free one day each month to attend a community meeting. See COBWS, 1984, pp. 119-120.

[17] See, e.g., Eisner, 1983, p. 14; Phillips, 1987, pp. 36-37; Power, 1976, p. 579; Smith, 1983, pp. 6-7. The positivistic paradigm is also referred to as the quantitative or scientific paradigm.

[18] See Harré, Clarke, & de Carlo, 1985, pp. 2-12, for a parallel discussion in the context of social psychology.

[19] See Warner, 1984, for a similar suggestion for research on experiential education programs; and Stevenson, 1985, for suggestions on using case studies in program evaluation. Reason & Rowan, 1981, provide an introduction to the issues surrounding "new paradigm" research.

[20] Equality has not been included in this list because, in the case of prior injustice or discrimination, justice may involve preferential treatment for certain groups.

[21] See James, 1980a, p. 25, 42, 45-46; and Miner & Boldt, pp. 351-353, on Hahn's notion of an aristocracy of service.

[22] It is noteworthy in connection with this matter that Dr. David Suzuki, in the first McClement Memorial Lecture given at Queen's University in October, 1984, argued that ecological problems are directly related to to the assumptions and methods of contemporary science. In the second McClement Lecture, in 1985, Dr. Betty Reardon argued that the war is similarly attributable to "how men think".

[23] This is an extremely compressed summary of what might be described as a neo-Marxist view of the relationship of ideology and *praxis*. For a relevant exposition of this relationship in another context, see Davis, 1973.

[24] "What is yielding and tender belongs to the realm of life; what is hard and strong belongs to the realm of death" (attributed to Lao Tzu).

[25] For an elaboration of this point, and its implications, see Slater, 1978, on continuity through change in traditions through creative interpretation of their central stories.

[26] See, for example, Martin, 1981, especially pp. 8-10.

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